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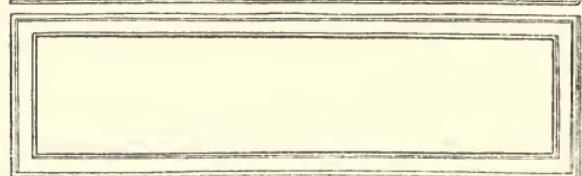
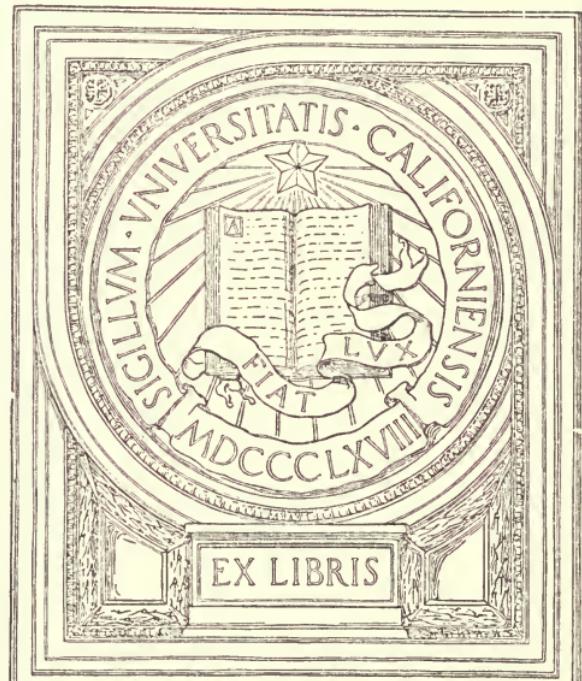
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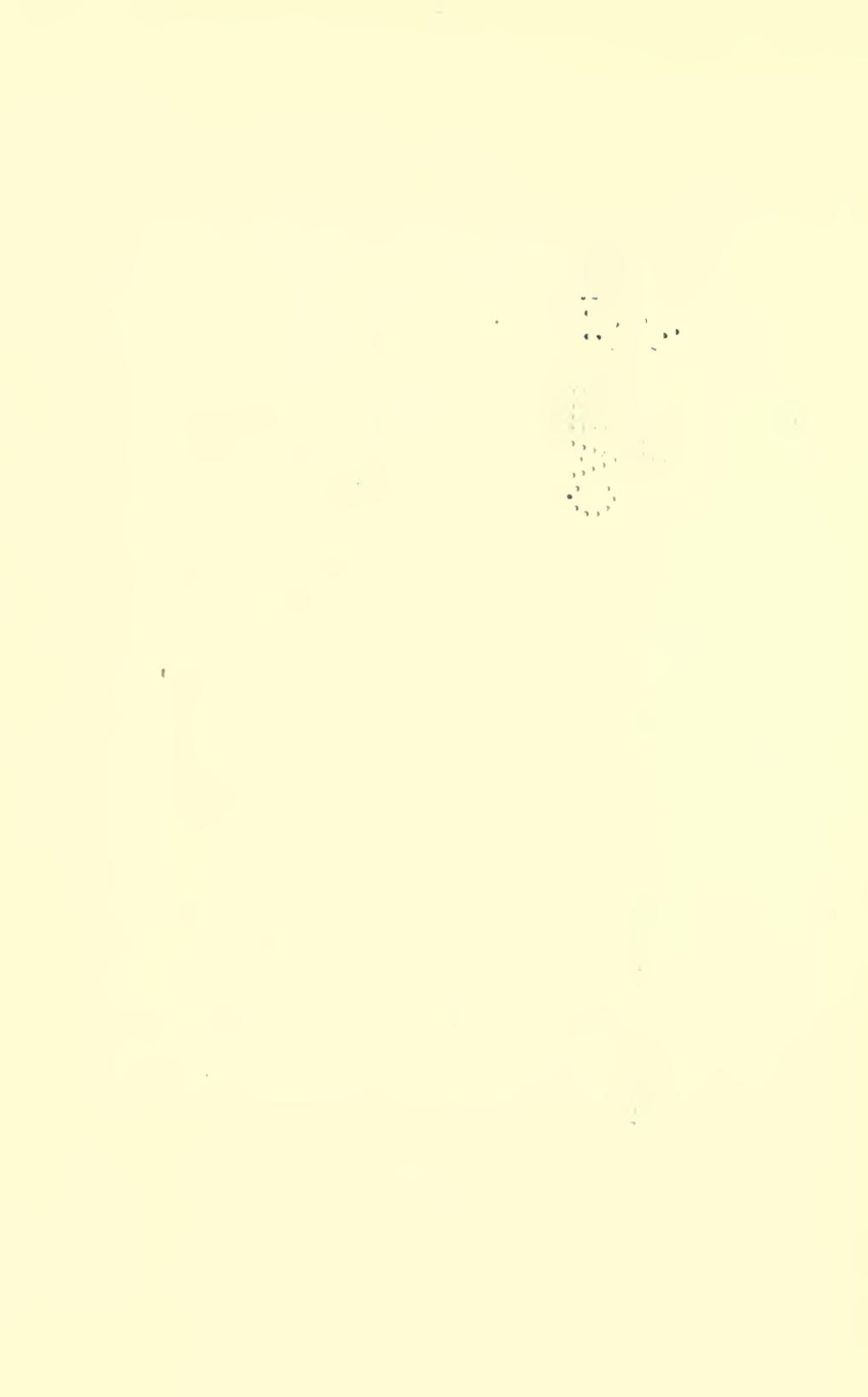
**HENRY K. ENGLISH**

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.











*HON. OLIVER P. MORTON. (1866.)*  
*Governor of Indiana.*

THE  
Grand Army of the Republic  
UNDER ITS  
First Constitution and Ritual.

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ITS BIRTH AND ORGANIZATION.

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BY

MAJOR OLIVER M. WILSON,

Adjutant-General Department of Indiana and Acting Provisional Adjutant-General, July, 1866 to November 21, 1866;  
Adjutant-General Department of Indiana, 1866-1867-1868; Department Commander, 1869-1870.



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TO MIMU

A CHILD'S FAVORITE STORY

PREFACE.

I write simply the truth of history.

THE AUTHOR.

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## History of the Organization and First Four Years of the Grand Army of the Republic.

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It was a mysterious awakening to the youth of the North in 1861 to obey the bugle call "To arms!" for war. It was the first appeal to his chivalry; and when he became a soldier, with musket in his hands, he for the first time realized that he was a hero. And when he came back from the war, the service he had given his country made him a veteran, and he became the recipient of the Nation's homage. But the service was something more than simple duty performed, something more than obeying commands; it was a life of hardships, sufferings, anguish of wounds, weary marches, privations, battle. Such service placed him before the American people as a preferred creditor of the Nation, and no man, not a soldier, could put himself in his place. The soldier had made it possible to have and keep a united country, and around him was thrown that subtle charm that comes only to those who have felt the heat and passion of battle.

It was natural, therefore, for such men to possess a feeling of the very closest friendship for those who had shared with them such service, which they knew could only be felt by those who had lived with them through the hours and days and years of a terrible war. When, therefore, the

## 10      *History of the Grand Army of the Republic.*

soldiers of the Union Army in the War of the Rebellion were mustered out of service, the greatest comradeship that ever knit men together was sundered. The loss of this companionship, formed as it was on the march, in the bivouac on skirmish line, and in battle, was keenly felt by the soldier, and he cheerfully accepted whatever influence would again unite him in the fellowship of his comrades. There was a fascination to him in the glamour of war. There was now a corresponding charm to him in the recollection of army life. He had passed through the bullet ordeal of the world's greatest soldiers, and his life had become to him the reflection of patriotic duty and loyalty to his flag. His service was his country's heritage, but as a soldier he could live in what had passed before him, and enjoy the ardor of what the associations of army life could bring to him. Such memories he held and treasured as a sacred possession.

Out of such emotions of comradeship, in the spirit of fraternity, came the civic organizations of soldiers to reunite the fellowship formed in the army, and retain the touch of elbow taken so many times when, even to do so, death was to many the result, but which, by those who came back again, was held steadfast until our flag was reset—unsullied, the emblem of our gigantic nationality. The private soldier and the officer stood alike representatives of the war. Distinction by reason of rank disappeared with the muster-out, and at no time was the line drawn between the two as representing a difference or grade of soldiers in such fraternity; the only passport to fraternity was an honorable discharge.

There may have been conditions, and probably such had something to do with an earlier organization in Indiana, but such did not influence the second organization of the soldiers in a confederation for mutual advantage and fellowship in the State. If such existed—and they doubtless did, but not through or from any sense of superior service—they did not develop later, after the first organization was projected with Colonel Conrad Baker as Commanding Officer, or President. The spirit and purpose of this first organization is best seen and understood in the first circular issued. A number of comrades had been called together—I do not remember the number, nor the names, of all summoned, nor who came, but some thirty met in the United States court-room at Indianapolis. With a perfect unanimity and hearty accord they outlined a plan of organization to include the entire soldiery of the State, elected their officers, and left to a future meeting to determine what service should constitute eligibility for membership, and whether it should embrace all soldiers without regard to rank. To this end, therefore, the following circular was prepared and sent to all parts of the State:

“Indianapolis, Dec. 1st, 1865.

“On the evening of the 14th of November a number of general and field officers convened in this city and organized a State army organization, by the election of the undersigned officers and the adoption of a plan of organization, in which the same high emotions which knit together our army and navy in hardship and conflict will actuate the members thereof, and perpetuate the good will and harmony cherished in trial and triumph in the field.

“In view of the desirability of having a more perfect union of the soldiers of Indiana, and of establishing this organization upon a sure and permanent foundation, we respectfully request that you meet in this city on the evening of the 19th inst., at the State Library rooms, to consult with a number of your comrades and thereby make perfect that which has been so auspiciously begun.

“We are respectfully,

“Your obedient servants,

“CONRAD BAKER,

“Commanding Officer, President.

“BEN SPOONER,

“Quartermaster-General, Treasurer.

“O. M. WILSON,

“Adjutant-General, Secretary.”

Among the many responses received in answer to this circular, I have found among my papers the following:

“O. M. Wilson, Adjutant and Secretary.

“Sir:—It affords me pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to join you in Indianapolis on the 19th inst., to there meet the soldiers of Indiana that may be present, and assist in forming a ‘permanent army organization’ for the purpose of perpetuating the good feeling and union of purpose that animated each while struggling to overthrow the great rebellion. The purposes of the meeting meet my entire approbation, and I shall cheerfully co-operate in every way in my power. I trust you will record me a member willing to bear a full share of responsibility. I regret being obliged to add that I cannot be present at the time fixed, but

will surely join with you at any future meeting. I take it for granted the organization will embrace all who took up arms in defense of our country.

“Truly your friend,

“W. HARROW.

“Mt. Vernon, Dec. 15th, 1865.”

“Indiana State University,

“Bloomington, Dec. 13th, 1865.

“Adjutant-General O. M. Wilson, Secretary State Army Organization.

“Dear Sir:—Permit me through you to express my heartfelt sympathy with the movement designated as the State Army Organization, and to hope that it will be eminently successful in obtaining its desired object of ‘perpetuating good will and harmony among its members.’ At the time appointed for your next meeting our examinations at the University will be in progress, which will preclude the possibility of my being present, but I feel assured I would readily concur in such measures as may be there devised and adopted.

“Very respectfully yours,

“RICHARD OWEN.”

“Headquarters Military Division of the Tennessee.

“Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 15th, 1865.

“Gentlemen:—Yours of the 9th inviting me to your consultation of officers, etc., on the evening of the 14th of November at your city reached me here to-day. It will be a pleasure to me to meet with the true and faithful on that

occasion, if in my power. I have been trying to get out of the service ever since the fall of Richmond, but am not yet relieved. I shall probably be at home between now and the 14th, but will likely have to return here by that time. I shall ever cherish the 'fellowship and friendship formed in the field' between the officers and soldiers of Indiana.

“Believe me, Your humble servant,  
“W. Gros

"General H. D. Washburn,  
"Major O. M. Wilson,  
"Indianapolis."

"La Fayette, Ind., Oct. 25th, 1865.  
"Major O. M. Wilson.

"Major:—Your note of 23d is received. If I am in the State on the 14th prox., it will afford me much pleasure to participate in the proposed reunion; the chances are, however, that I will not be in Indiana on the day named, but will hope to meet our military friends at some future day.

“Very truly yours,

“J. J. REYNOLDS,  
“*Major-General.*”

The hearty concurrence of these gallant soldiers with many others was an earnest of the fellowship so much desired by the soldiers of Indiana. The meeting on December 19th was largely attended, representatives being present from all parts of the State. The principal question discussed was whether the organization should include all honorably discharged soldiers, or whether it should be confined

to officers only, on the plan of the old "Cincinnatus." There were advocates of both plans, but action was deferred to the next annual meeting. In the meantime the organization was to impliedly embrace officers only, without, however, excluding any applicant, as membership was made permissive to all soldiers qualified. An adjournment was taken to the following December, 1866.

In the spring of 1866 many inquiries came to me by letter to know what had become of the "Army Club," the name taken by the organization, and if it took in all soldiers, and when it would meet. The answer to these letters provoked a general correspondence, in which it was suggested that the soldiers wanted and felt the need of an organization, that such would have a good effect, etc.

The fact was, our "Army Club" was, thus far, purely social and confined to officers only. There was no obligation in it for membership. We all knew each other, and no test was required. The prevailing sentiment, however, throughout the State was, that an organization should be made to include all soldiers having an honorable discharge. In this, I remember, the officers concurred, but on this point we stood still until our meeting in December.

A political campaign had begun in Indiana, and each day brought appeals to organize a branch of the "Army Club." The officers now saw a field for organization that had not been entered. These communications were placed in the hands of Governor O. P. Morton. He, too, had been urged to co-operate and hasten action on the plea to "hold the soldiers." This was in the spring of 1866, or early

summer—some time in June. Accordingly Governor Morton sent for Major-General R. S. Foster, of Indianapolis. The fertile brain of the one and the genius of the other gave the Grand Army of the Republic not only to Indiana, but to the Nation.

The authorship of the Ritual of the Grand Army of the Republic, as well as the first Constitution, or Rules and Regulations, is credited to Major B. F. Stephenson, Surgeon United States Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion. This claim was never denied. Thus far this great order had its start—in conception. But it was for a mightier brain, a sagacious leader of men, a man resourceful and tactful, a political giant—Oliver P. Morton—to see the possibilities which would arise from the organization outlined by Major Stephenson for making it a power in the land, and thereby to make permanent and secure the victories of loyalty over rebellion, by keeping in the minds of the soldiers the principles for which they had fought.

Governor Morton had been attracted by the name. He had heard through some source that it was political, so far as to assert preference for the soldier and a demand for the care and protection of the soldier's widow and orphan, and that the friend of the soldier should be preferred for office. This meant political ostracism for those whose faith had wavered, or had not been strong enough to openly declare for the support of the Union. A political campaign in Indiana meant the marshaling of every soldier in the party that supported him as governor during the war. Her soldiers were his friends. He had been their friend. He saw it pos-

sible to keep them united, and yet not appeal to their prejudices or passions not yet wholly cooled or allayed from strife in the war. He wanted them to remain loyal. He knew they needed no second inspiration to show their loyalty, but he was fearful that evil and disloyal influences at the homes of many, against whom as governor of the State he had contended during the war, would mislead many, and his first wish was to preserve unsullied the record of Indiana's soldiers from the taint of affiliation with the political party that had opposed the war, and with which they had acted when it bore an honorable name. As a means to this end, whatever would add strength to the loyal sentiment of Indiana he advised, urged, and adopted.

The organization he had heard of had not yet been productive. Our first knowledge of it came from him. It was yet in embryo. But before he would encourage its use or adoption in Indiana, he first sought to know if it was practicable. He took counsel, sending for General Foster, to whom he imparted his information. It was thought it could be made effectual in Indiana.

At the request of Governor Morton, General Foster visited Springfield, Illinois, for the purpose of examining the plan of this organization. He there called upon Major Stephenson, with whom he talked over the work he had written, the Major reading portions of it to General Foster from manuscript, and explaining the object and plan of the order he desired to organize. I now quote General Foster's statement and account of this interview given me a good many years ago, and since made by him as one of a commit-

tee on the first organization, to the Department of Indiana, 1901, and which is familiar to many comrades in Indiana.

“He [Stephenson] said he had trouble in getting the ‘boys’ there to ‘take hold of it’; that it was a good thing, and he would be glad to have me bring it to Indiana and organize it, or ‘start it,’ were his words, in our State. He manifested great anxiety and zeal in getting it introduced, and expressed himself as very anxious that we should introduce it in Indiana. He administered to me the obligation of the Ritual for this purpose, and gave me a copy of the Constitution and Ritual. Some of it was printed, and some in manuscript—I think the Ritual, but I don’t remember now which part was printed, most likely the Constitution, for I know I had the obligation of the Ritual on a slip of paper when I obligated my ten charter members.”

Upon General Foster’s return home he at once communicated with myself and a few intimate comrades, and fixed a time and place for presenting the plan of this organization. There he administered to us the same obligation he had taken from Stephenson, from a slip of paper which he at the time held in his hand. These comrades he constituted his charter members for a Department organization. No commission, or so-styled appointment, as “Department Commander” was given to him by anyone claiming to be authority in the Order. Such an assumption to commission him was never claimed or exercised by Stephenson. He was left to do as thought best after consulting with his comrades. Upon giving them the obligation he was made by their unanimous vote Department Commander under, and

agreeably to the form and provision of the Constitution he had brought from Major Stephenson, and at once commenced the organization of the State. The comrades chosen by him to receive the first muster in the Order in Indiana were General Dan Macauley, Colonel W. H. Schlater, Colonel C. J. Dobbs, Captain E. F. Ritter, Captain Charles W. Brouse, Major John N. Scott, myself, and three others whose names I have forgotten, so also has General Foster. If the old Charter, which I think Post No. 1 was built upon, could be found, these names will be found upon it. I think our Department Charter went into Post No. 1. This charter was displayed at Department Headquarters as our only authority to act.

General Foster, upon being chosen Department Commander, first gave attention to details of the organization, in selecting twenty comrades to visit different parts of the State. It became necessary at the start to procure the printing of the Constitution,\* Ritual,† Charters, blanks, etc. Before, however, we could do this, we had organized Post No. 1 at Indianapolis simply by giving the obligation, as a great political rally was near, at which General Macauley as Post Commander turned out his Post about one thousand strong to receive Governor Oglesby and Colonel Robert J. Ingerson, of Illinois. This was on the 22d day of August, 1866.

The printing of Constitutions, Rituals, Charters, blanks, etc., was placed in the custody of Captain Charles W. Brouse, then a member of the firm of Downey & Brouse, printers. Captain Brouse supervised in person this print-

\*See appendix I for fac-simile photographic reproduction of Constitution.

†See Appendix II.

ing, especially the Ritual, which was done by comrades, members of the organization. He has been enabled to find among the entries on his books of that day a record of the work so done for the Department of Indiana, as well as for posts, and at my request made of him some years ago furnished me with a certified statement of the printing so done, which statement is as follows, showing the date it was delivered to us:

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC—STATE.

August 22d, 1866.

To 3,000 Constitutions.

To 500 Charters, lith.

To 1,000 Additional secret work.

August 28th, 1866.

To 500 blanks. . . . . \$4.00

September 15th, 1866.

To 300  $\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet note blanks. . . . . \$ 5.50

To 2,000  $\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet details. . . . . 9.50

To 3,000  $\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet circulars. . . . . 19.00

September 15th, 1866.

By cash. . . . . \$227.00

September 20th, 1866.

To 3,000 songs. . . . . \$12.00

To 300  $\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet circulars. . . . . 8.00

September 28th, 1866.

To 1,000  $\frac{1}{2}$ -sheet circulars. . . . . \$9.50

October 22d, 1866.

To 500 copies encampment regulations. . . . . \$12.00

November 6th, 1866.

|   |         |
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| To 1,000 enlistment and muster. . . . . | \$49.25 |
| To 1,000 letter-heads. . . . .          | 13.00   |
| To 300 General Orders. . . . .          | 3.00    |
| To 200 4-page note circulars. . . . .   | 10.50   |

November 17th, 1866.

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| To 6,000 Special Order, No. 13. . . . . | \$63.50 |
| To 300 General Orders. . . . .          | 4.00    |

"Indianapolis, September, 1887.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing charges and credits are taken from the day-book of the late firm of Downey & Brouse, printers and publishers of Indianapolis, Indiana; that I was a member of that firm; that the entries were made at the time the work was finished and delivered to the proper officers of the Grand Army of the Republic; that the credit of \$227, which appears under date of September 15th, 1866, was for printing done prior to that time; that I am unable to find the book of original entry, or charge called the job book, which I believe would show the first work done for the Department of Indiana not later than the 1st of August, 1866. That I was an active member of Post No. 1, of Indiana, and that the work done as appears under date of September 17th, 1866, was done after the Post had been in active operation for some considerable time.

"CHARLES W. BROUSE."

It will be observed that on August 22d, 1866, Captain Brouse delivered 3,000 copies, printed, of our Constitution,

500 charters, and 1,000 *additional* secret work. This secret work was the Ritual, and this entry shows that they were additional to what had already been printed and furnished Department headquarters, as the number printed of this secret work corresponded with the Constitution. Captain Brouse was required to give his personal supervision to this secret work. He communicated with me only concerning the printing. He reminded me in 1887, when this certificate was given, that I at one time desired him to hasten the printing of all this work, that I might get some of it off to Illinois for Stephenson.

As soon as we could get a supply of printed matter, Constitutions, Rituals, and charters, General Foster issued his first General Order, of which the following is a copy:

“Headquarters Department of Indiana,  
“Grand Army of the Republic,  
“Adjutant-General’s Office,  
“Indianapolis, Ind., Aug. 20, 1866.

“General Orders, No. 1.

“The following named officers are hereby announced on duty at these headquarters:

“Colonel Wm. H. Schlater, Aide-de-camp and Chief of Staff.

“Major O. M. Wilson, Adjutant-General.

“By order of

“R. S. FOSTER,

“Commander Department of Indiana.

“Official.

“Assistant Adjutant-General.”

It was not possible to estimate the strength of the organization at the time General Foster issued this first order. It numbered many thousand. The order was delayed for good reasons; it was thought its tenor might mislead in this: that Posts organized previously would be denied their seniority. But this was not so. From the time the organization in the State was commenced, when General Foster gave the obligation to his ten comrades, personal and professional duties were abandoned by those having anything to do with the organization. Aides were sent to and appointed in nearly every county. Posts were organized, first by giving only the obligation; then, upon getting the Ritual and charter, they were mustered in due form. Before the organization had progressed to any extent, General Foster sent me to Springfield, Illinois, to confer with Major Stephenson, General Webber, and Colonel Mather—comrades we had first met there and with whom conference had been had—as to what was best to do as to printing, etc., and about a badge, and whether we had better try to push the order beyond the limits of our own State.

I found Major Stephenson disappointed in what he claimed the failure of his own “boys” to “take hold of it,” saying they didn’t seem to appreciate such a thing; that they didn’t want to have anything to do with any organization that seemed to forecast restraint upon their action, and that would require them to observe certain forms of ceremony; that the free and easy hurrah style of soldiers suited them best, and such meetings the boys would attend. He felt a corresponding degree of pleasure when told of our success.

He said further, that somehow the right kind of men couldn't be interested, but as we were in a big fight in Indiana—meaning our campaign—we could get the boys to take hold of it, because we had a Morton in the fight. He became enthusiastic over his Ritual. He asked my opinion of the Ritual and Constitution; he spoke as if he had no organization. I told him my only objection was in the name: it was too cumbersome, and sounded too "buncombe"; that I thought he could get one to express the character of an organization that would at the same time reflect the character of the men composing it, then the "boys" would more cheerfully be drawn to it, but that "Grand Army of the Republic" sounded like a play-word for children. He frankly said the same objection had been made by others, but he could think of no better name, and asked me to suggest one. I told him I couldn't; we would take it as he made it. I met Generals Webber and Mather, who talked to me as did Stephenson. As to the name, they said it was the name chosen by the "old man"—meaning Major Stephenson, of whom they always spoke with much love. They said he was disappointed in not having his "Grand Army" seized on by the "boys"; that he put a good deal of time and labor on it, and therefore they encouraged him in every way they could, but they doubted if the "old man" would make it succeed, or was the right one to start it. "The boys here don't seem to take to it," said General Mather; "they don't want any 'play' soldier in theirs." General Webber, who was present, then said to me, "You Hoosiers are the very boys to take it; you have a Morton in your campaign, and

if anybody can put it on its feet, 'Sandy' Foster can"—meaning General R. S. Foster.

I have no recollection of our Department ever reporting to Stephenson, or even to anybody, until after the National Encampment in November, 1866. General Julius Webber, of Springfield, A. O. Behm, of Lafayette, and myself, by direction of General Foster, constituted the Committee on Badge, and we designed the first badge of the Order. It was manufactured in Lafayette, Indiana. I was Foster's first and only adjutant-general in 1866; Kimball's in 1867, Foster's again in 1868, and was elected Department Commander in 1869, and succeeded by Colonel Lewis Humphrey, of South Bend, in 1870. During all this time I was familiar not only with what was done in Indiana, but in many other Departments, as will appear in succeeding pages. This statement is made here that the reader may know that what follows is not based upon *memories* of what transpired during the founding of the Grand Army, but is a statement of *facts* as appear upon the records of those years now in my possession and my personal property.

It is well to understand this fact that, though this Order was organized in the heat of a political contest, its principles were written in sincerity of purpose—its foundation principles, the three cardinal virtues, fraternity, charity, and loyalty, without reference to political affiliation or sympathy, and only as it was strongly partisan in organization, in localities, did it become political. Soldiers affiliating with both political parties became charter members of the same Post.

So rapidly did enlistments follow General Order No. 1, that in many cases the obligation only was given, leaving the soldier to select whatever Post he desired. The Senate Chamber was, on several occasions, appropriated for mustering purposes, because of its advantages. At the first muster there, there must have been at least forty who took the obligation simply to become members, without any assignment. Districts were formed, composed of a number of counties, for which aides were chosen whose duty was to visit the towns to muster in groups that were already formed to organize Posts. In this way the State was organized.

It soon became evident that our efforts were not to be confined to our own State. Letters came from different parts of the country, inquiring about the "Grand Army," how they could get it, etc. No one, as far as we knew, had the right to grant a Department Charter, or any special privileges, unless it was Stephenson, and he had not claimed to have any more right than did General Foster. During this period Major Stephenson wrote to us from time to time for blank Charters, Constitutions and Rituals, which were cheerfully sent to him without charge. He also wrote for various supplies, stating they, as yet, had none and would have to rely upon our Department until his State was organized. This condition of affairs then may seem strange to many now, in view of the fact that Illinois is recognized as the first organized Department, but it nevertheless was a fact, and one that at no time then, or upon any occasion, provoked comment. We were indebted to Stephenson for the Order—we were paying our debt. We never at any time

claimed paternity. The question was never mooted. We never even took note of time or place of the organization there or elsewhere, except in our own State. We not only aided him and all others with whatever we had in supplies, but asked him to declare himself Commander-in-Chief.

The one great event that entered into our councils now was how to be represented in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention called to assemble at Pittsburg, September 25th, 1866; whether we should try to go as a "Grand Army" body, or *en masse*, and yet preserve our organization in representation. The latter method was adopted, and General Foster issued the following circular letter:

"Headquarters Department of Indiana,  
"Grand Army of the Republic, Adjutant-General's Office,  
"Indianapolis, Sept. 12th, 1866.

*"Commander District of —.*

"Sir:—I am directed by Major-General R. S. Foster, Commanding Department of Indiana, Grand Army of the Republic, to request you to take immediate measures for a full representation, *en masse* or by delegates, from your District to the Pittsburg Convention of Soldiers and Sailors, to be held on the 25th of this month. No convention of a similar character has ever been held, and it becomes us as loyal soldiers to cordially respond to this call. The American Volunteer Army, though disbanded, is yet a unit, and the same high emotions which knit its members together when hardships came, or the conflict raged, still actuate the mass of our soldiers. No credentials are necessary except loyalty. Indiana presented them in the 'field,' and let it ever

be said she stands ready at any time, in any way, to present them anywhere on the face of the globe.

“O. M. WILSON,  
*Adjutant-General Department.*”

The response to this circular came from every District, and many Posts. It became necessary to instruct the delegates to go direct to Pittsburg, to Indiana headquarters there, at the Monongehala House, instead of coming via Indianapolis. At this time reports from one hundred and thirty-four Posts were received, nearly every one of which was represented in that Convention. A large delegation, more than occupying one car, went from Indianapolis, all Grand Army men wearing the badge we had printed—a white ribbon with “Grand Army of the Republic” in gilt letters, an eagle underneath, and below, “Indiana” in large letters, all in gilt. These badges were distributed to every Indianian at that convention, and to many others they were given, being asked for as souvenirs.

Remembering the many inquiries made for the “work,” General Foster permitted me to take a supply of Charters, Rituals, and Constitutions, and in the use of proper discretion, to give the “work” to such representative soldiers of different States who should apply for it.”

From the published proceedings of that great Convention of soldiers, I cull a few items, noting this fact, that Indiana was the only State represented there by an organized body of “Grand Army” men. To be sure, many of our Indiana comrades there had not yet become members, but

they all assembled at our headquarters, and recognized the organization as the proper and only exponent of their sentiment and wish as soldiers:

“Encampment of G. A. R. of Indiana, Post No. 1,  
“Grand Army of the Republic,  
“Kendallville, Ind., Sept. 19th, 1866.

“*Resolved*, That we, the members of this Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, feeling ourselves to be in full sympathy with the high and noble aims and intentions which have caused our comrades of the army and navy to call a mass convention to meet at Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 25th, 1866, to express their views on the important political issues agitating our common country, do in special meeting declare ourselves fully endorsing this noble call in each and every particular; and therefore,

“*Resolved*, That the Commander of this Post order the Adjutant to send these resolutions, accompanied by the members, one hundred and twenty-five, of the Encampment, to General James S. Negley, Pittsburg, Pa.

“M. F. COLLIER,  
“*Post Commander.*

“H. H. NELSON,  
“*Post Adjutant.*”

“Evansville, Ind., Sept. 17th, 1866.

“General J. S. Negley.

“I have the honor to report that a delegation of three or more of the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Union and Grand Army of the Republic of Vanderburg County, Indiana, will take

part in the Convention to be held in your city on the 25th inst.

“The following are the delegates: Wm. Warren, Jr., 24th Indiana Veteran Volunteers; E. Tounhemelt, First Lieutenant 1st Indiana Battery; Captain Darling, 25th Indiana Volunteers; and your respectful and obedient servant,

“EDWARD WEHLER,

“*Late Colonel 178th Regiment, N. Y. Volunteers.*”

The above are given to show the representation of the State, of the Grand Army from Indiana in that Convention, Kendallville in the extreme northern and Evansville on the southern border. There is no record of any other State represented there by this organization as such. Others came as representatives of the “Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Union” and “Convention,” “Boys in Blue,” “Kansas Veteran Brotherhood” and other titles. By the Mayor of Pittsburg, Honorable W. C. McCarthy, the soldiers were welcomed in an address as “Boys in Blue.” The surviving Indianians of that Convention will remember the song by E. W. H. Ellis, of Indiana, dedicated to the Department of Indiana as the “*Rallying Song of the Grand Army of the Republic,*” which is herewith given, since the words bear great significance to the Ritual, which those of us at that time remember, as well as to the political spirit of the times:

1.

There's a mighty army gathering throughout the East  
and West,  
With banners gaily flaunting they speed along with zest,  
And the motto they are shouting, "We fight for the oppressed.  
As we go marching on."

Chorus: Glory, glory, hallelujah, etc.

2.

Their ranks are filled with heroes, who fought in deadly  
strife,  
To shield the Constitution and save the Nation's life  
From the maddened rebel's fury and the base assassin's knife,  
As they went marching on.

3.

From the gory fields of battle, from the mountain and the  
plain,  
Where the wood and rocks are blushing with the blood of  
kindred slain,  
They come with arms victorious to battle once again,  
As they go marching on.

4.

They have sworn upon the altar of their country and their  
God,  
By the spirits of the gallant dead, who sleep beneath the sod,  
Their neck shall never bow again beneath the oppressor's rod,  
As they go marching on.

## 5.

They have sworn with hand uplifted, upon the bended knee,  
They ne'er will ground their arms again, till all mankind  
are free

And every tongue once manacled shall shout for liberty,  
As they go marching on.

## 6.

The glorious hour is coming, the day is drawing nigh,  
When slavery and oppression shall lay them down and die,  
And universal freedom shall be echoed through the sky,  
As they go marching on.

Looking back upon that Convention, it seems that the time and place was fitly chosen for that great ebullition of feeling pent up since 1860, for there never was demonstrative exultation by the Union soldier during the war. But now it seemed that all of the armies had met for congratulations, that the old flag had been reset, and in the passion of the hour was revived a delirium of patriotism. Never before was there such a gathering of soldiers; even the parade at Washington at the close of the war was but a part of the Army. Never again will it be possible for a like assembly.

Indiana soldiers were represented in this Convention not only by their Grand Army officers, but officially by General Milo S. Hascall as chairman of our delegation (several thousand); General Dan Macauley and Major Ed. Armstrong, Secretaries; General Thomas J. Brady and Colonel Wm. O'Brien, Committee on Organization; Private Wm. Warren

and Colonel A. D. Streight, Vice-Presidents; General Thos. W. Bennett and Colonel S. P. Oyler, on Resolutions; members of the National Committee, soldiers and sailors, General R. S. Foster, T. W. Bennett, and Milo S. Hascall.

An incident occurred at the first meeting of the Convention that will be remembered not only by every Indianian there, but by many others. The Hoosier was everywhere; he was in evidence upon all occasions, and upon any emergency; in fact, he was "too numerous" to discipline. So when the word came to "fall in," it fell upon a sea of humanity. But somehow we succeeded in forming a column, and proceeded to make our way to the hall of the Convention. We got to the stairway, and stuck—in the jam. We simply held our ground because we couldn't do anything else. Something had to "give way" pretty soon, or somebody would be crushed. Presently our leader, Hascall, was heard above the din, "Forward, Indiana!" Somehow the living mass in which we were wedged, and through which we were inch by inch pushing our way, began to realize that we were going into that hall, and somehow we began to slip along a little easier. We got in, how many I don't know—probably a hundred and fifty. I said we got in. We did more. We got to the very front seats, whether reserved for Indiana I don't know, but I do remember that I was close to Hascall, who, as we halted, turned to see how many of the boys were there, and if any needed help to get there. He looked as if he had come out of a furnace, and his raiment was very limp. Just then Indiana was called. The General turned, and in a loud, clear, ringing voice shouted, "Here she is—where she always was—at the front!"

In the great torchlight procession the 8th Ward "Boys in Blue" of the 4th Division, Pittsburg, bore this "strange device": "All hail to the Grand Army of the Republic!"

General Willich, in his speech in the Convention, speaking for Indiana, said: "No doubt they can now see where the Grand Army of the Republic is. That army is here, and the heart of the people is here."

The Convention might be said to have been in session all the time all over the city. Entertainments, receptions, etc., were of hourly occurrence without reference to daytime or night-time. The longest, thickest, and strongest "latch-string" ever hung out in any community was the "freedom of the city." Never once was it broken: the "tether" was too strong, and the "boys" left it—it's there yet.

By special appointment I met comrades to give them the secret work of the Grand Army of the Republic. I carefully avoided parading the Order, for it was a convention of soldiers irrespective of organizations. If there were others there claiming membership in this organization we did not know it. It was, however, no secret that we claimed to represent the Grand Army of the Republic, and from the fact that Indiana headquarters was sought by so many representative soldiers from other States, who asked to receive the "work," we assumed that our badge had drawn many, as it was the only badge representing the Grand Army of the Republic in that Convention.

To the following named comrades I gave the obligation, the secret work, and supplied each with Constitutions, Rit-

uals, Charters, and other supplies necessary to organize a Department:

General J. T. Hartranft, Pennsylvania, and others.

General J. Shaw, Jr., Rhode Island.

General E. W. Whittaker, Connecticut.

General Charles Devens, Major A. S. Cushman, and Chaplain A. H. Flint, Massachusetts.

General J. B. McKeon, New York, and others.

General Ed. Jardine, New Jersey, and others.

General A. W. Dennison, Maryland, and others.

General Sparhawk, Maryland, and others.

Colonel T. B. Fairleigh, Kentucky.

General Thomas L. Young, Ohio.

General Charles Walcott, Ohio.

Colonel John A. Martin, Major T. P. Anderson, Kansas.

Colonel Timothy Lubey, Washington, D. C.

These I remember more especially because they were the leading representatives of others with them. I knew most of them, and am further aided in my memory by my personal record made at the time and later correspondence. With these comrades the Department of Indiana co-operated in many ways during the years 1866, 1867, 1868, and 1869. In some cases, from three to six or more comrades received the obligation together, that they might better introduce the "work" in establishing Posts and forming Departments. This was especially the case with comrades from Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts.

It is hardly worth while to say more than to merely mention the fact, that among the many errors of statement in

the "History of the Grand Army of the Republic," by Robert B. Beath, in the statement that "in October, 1866, Departments had been formed in . . . . Indiana," an injustice is done our Department. He had the records before him—the Department records, that General Foster's first Department Order was issued August 20, 1866. And further, as Comrade Beath knew at the time, his own Post in Philadelphia was organized on and by the strength of the charter I gave him at Pittsburg in September, 1866, signed by General Foster as Department Commander of Indiana, and by myself as Adjutant-General Department of Indiana; and said charter was so granted by General Foster, whose name was afterwards erased, and Hurlbut's and Stephenson's names inserted for Foster's and my own. At least that is what he admitted to me in the Dennison Hotel, at Indianapolis in the presence of Comrade James R. Carnahan. And further, he certainly did know that there was no Commander-in-chief until such was chosen at the first National Convention that convened at Indianapolis, November 20th, 1866.

Touching this question, a memorial was presented some years ago by the writer hereof, and his comrades, Colonel Charles A. Zollinger and Captain Charles W. Brouse, to Colonel I. N. Walker, then Department Commander of Indiana, upon the right of Indiana to seniority in the Order. The original draft of that memorial is in my possession, and I take from it the following:

"If we couldn't be considered an organized Department until after the National Encampment, certainly Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa could not; yet they stand credited with

such privilege and priority. What constitutes an organization in the Grand Army? what constitutes a Department? who are entitled to participate in such organization? and how can a Department be organized? are questions that must be answered with reference to the organic law—the Constitution, not the “Blue Book,” as written by Beath. For the law governing the Order in 1866 we turn to the Constitution of that date. If there was an organization of this Order on July 12th, 1866, it would be under and in pursuance of a constitution adopted for and by such organization. Instead, the only authority which Beath’s “History”—Blue Book—gives for claiming that Illinois was so organized is the following:

“A call for that Convention, dated June 22d, 1866, which reads, ‘A Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic *and of Illinois Soldiers and Sailors* will be held at Springfield, July 12th, 1866.’ Signed, John M. Palmer, B. F. Stephenson, and others.”

The following is the official telegraphic report of that Convention:

“The State Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic was in session to-day. Almost every county in the State was represented, and five hundred delegates were in attendance. A committee on resolutions, permanent organization, and other matters of less importance was appointed. A permanent organization was effected by the appointment of Walter B. Seates, of Chicago, President; General B. M. Prentiss and General Tree, Vice-Presidents; Major Robert M. Wood, Secretary; and Captain Thomas M. Thompson and Private F. A. Hall, Assistant Secretaries.”

These are not Grand Army titles nor officers. *This* is the Convention credited in the Blue Book with being a *Department* Convention, held at Springfield, Ill., July 12th, 1866. "Comrade John M. Palmer . . . . whom *I* style," says Beath, "Department Commander, *to meet the subsequent change of title, was elected* Grand Commander." It will be noticed that if they had a Constitution there was no need of "styling" him anything else than in the rank that Constitution determined. But Mr. Beath makes it convenient to dedicate his tree before it is planted. No member of this Order will recognize *that* Convention as a Department Encampment.

No reference is made to any Post organization in the "call" signed by a number of soldiers. Grand Army Encampments do not assemble on the "call" of soldiers. This was not at that time the method of assembling members of the Grand Army, in Department Encampments, according to our form of the Constitution of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1866. Grand Army Encampments are not called "Conventions," nor were they so designated at that time. Grand Army Encampments do not appoint Presidents to preside, and Vice-Presidents and Secretaries and a Committee on Permanent Organization, as did the Convention of July 12th, 1866. No one will deny that it was a convention of soldiers, and as such its machinery was proper, but not as a *Grand Army* body. Nearly the same status existed at the first National Encampment. But there the body met under a recognized authority, with only certain *designated persons qualified to act—Grand Army men*; their

right had to be determined by a Committee on Credentials. If this body at Springfield was a Grand Army Encampment, it had a Constitution to govern it, and a Ritual to guide it. "This the National Encampment had; and if that assembly at Springfield, call it what you may, did not meet and deliberate in conformity to the letter and spirit of that Constitution and Ritual, it has no right to the claim made for it.

But that Convention was in fact what the "call" contemplated and intended it should be, a convention of Illinois Soldiers and Sailors, regardless of any affiliation with any organization. "As many," says the call, "of our soldiers have not had the opportunity to join our army, they will be mustered in on the occasion." On what occasion? Of a mass convention.

"All those," continues the call, "who wish to establish and maintain the rights of the volunteer soldiery of the late war morally, socially, and *politically* are requested to meet with us." If there was a constitution then in force, why was it not obeyed? It names the officers; among others, "Department Commander," not "Commanding Department," as Stephenson and others with him signed themselves, up to the time of the National Encampment. (See Art. III., Sec. 3, Cons. 1866, Downey & Brouse, printers, Indianapolis.) How a mass convention could bestow such a title, that could only be given and received by those obligated and authorized to act in the secret work, may be, probably, a matter of indifference in the accomplishment of a certain end. Such an assembly could not properly be dignified with the title of a "Provisional" encampment. The Department of

Indiana, organized on the Ritual and Constitution in July, but supposedly when the first General Order was issued, August 20th, 1866, had no knowledge even of such "Convention." There never was any "Commander-in-chief" in the Order, until General Hurlbut was elected at Indianapolis in November, 1866. To be sure, Stephenson assumed the title, but we all know that this act was simply a gratification of his own vanity—and it was certainly pardonable in him.

Some years ago there was a very elaborate Constitution, gotten up in Indiana by a few comrades, a costly badge was designed and made, other devices, signs, and symbols prepared, officers were chosen, all the necessary machinery for a great Order prepared, and—that was all, except the name; it died there.

So the mere fact of saying so, or calling yourself a "Department," issuing a "General Order," as of a Department, or as "Commander-in-chief," when in fact there is no such organization behind you, or beneath you, or over you to back up or sustain your claim and assumption, doesn't make a "Department" or "Commander-in-chief." When the tangible, subsisting, living thing is before you, set in motion and moved by your influence and orders, and your muster rolls run into majestic thousands, as did those of the Department of Indiana before General Foster issued his first order, then you can safely and honorably say, This organization is what it claims to be; this is, in fact, an organization. "*Styling*" a convention such does not make it one.

To Indianians there is but one conclusion upon the evidence before us, and in the light of history, and the knowledge it was given us to possess, and from the relation it was our privilege to hold in those years to the chief actors in our organization, it is a truth that cannot be gainsaid, that what is to-day known as the Grand Army of the Republic, though truly conceived in Illinois, was brought to life by Governor Oliver P. Morton, and given wings and started on its flight to glory the moment General R. S. Foster left the presence of Major B. F. Stephenson, in Springfield, Illinois, in July, 1866, with the draft of the first Constitution and Ritual in his possession."

The facts are the first printed copy of the Constitution perfected for the government of the Order, that we saw, was printed by the Department of Indiana the latter part of July, 1866—this from copy given us by Major Stephenson. Whatever had been done prior to this time was necessarily without organization, or what might be called Ritual work, and this was crudely delivered and lacked in cohesion, without any method or form of government essential to a properly organized Post.

More is claimed for Major Stephenson than he ever claimed, or would claim for himself. He never regarded his oral organizations effective. In his great desire to establish the Order he sought friends for aid. In the late winter of 1866—about February, he gave the obligation of the Ritual to Colonel A. J. Hawhe, in the Democratic county of Floyd, Indiana. Hawhe and Stephenson had belonged to the same brigade, and were warm personal friends. Hawhe's

effort, however, in organizing a Post met with strong Democratic opposition, led by Colonel Cyrus L. Dunham, 50th Ind. Vols. Hawhe saw that such contentions and opposition would divide the soldiers in sentiment. Dunham succeeded, and Hawhe relinquished all further effort with his paper organization. He had nothing to work with.

We first heard of Hawhe's effort and failure late in July, or about the first of August. He had been designated as "Commander of the District." This was in conformity with the written Constitution as it was afterwards written, showing that such plan was in Stephenson's mind from its inception. In our interviews with Stephenson, Webber, and Mather at Springfield, Hawhe's name was never mentioned. Evidently Stephenson didn't want us to know that he had tried to introduce his Ritual in that Democratic stronghold. This fact, however, may have been one of the moving causes to his complaint, that "the boys wouldn't take hold of it."

When Hawhe notified us of what he had tried to do, we sent him Rituals, Regulations, and blank Charters, and told him to go ahead. But by this time he had given up all hope of success, and early in August the Post succumbed. At most the few members had held together on the obligation of the Ritual without a Constitution to govern them.

Hawhe claimed he had no time to give to the Order; at the same time he didn't have a very hopeful opinion of its success. He spoke of the Democratic opposition, and thought this an insurmountable barrier to success—that, being in part political, no Democratic soldiers would come into the organization.

At the time of our interview with Stephenson, Webber, and Mather at Springfield, we were given to understand that prior to that time it was an experiment and a failure; and probably had we known of Hawke's failure, we might not have consented to undertake the organization, as we then did. We supposed the "failure" was among his own boys in Illinois, and Webber led us so to believe.

Major Stephenson's first official utterance was as Adjutant-General, in his address convening the 2d National Encampment at Philadelphia, January 15, 1868. In this he says: "In presenting this, the first official report of the rise and progress of the glorious Order," etc.: . . . "Early in the spring of 1866, a few patriots, deeply feeling the importance of organizing a grand association of the gallant Union soldiers and sailors of the late terrible rebellion, . . . formed their plans, and, *publicly calling on all interested*, on the 12th day of July, 1866, *met in convention* in the Representative Hall in the State Capitol at Springfield, Illinois, and *then and there formed a nucleus of the grand organization here present, and which from that humble origin now extends an influence throughout every State and Territory in our country*. . . . Your present Adjutant-General was honored by the appointment as Provisional Commander-in-chief. With but crude materials at his command he succeeded in a few months in establishing Provisional Departments." The latter part of this communication was sharply criticised at the time, for fourteen of the States represented in that Encampment had been organized by the Department officers of Indiana, and, as these pages show,

were in the first National Encampment at Indianapolis. McKean, of New York, and Wagner, of Pennsylvania, and others were especially indignant, saying to me: "Say nothing, Wilson; let the old man have his way." What we all wanted was harmony, peace, and success.

But Stephenson never was appointed "Provisional Commander-in-chief"; nor was there ever a Grand Army organization, up to the 1st National Encampment held at Indianapolis, authorized to make such office.

The fact was, in which all concurred, he acted as such on no other authority than as the writer of the Ritual—in fact, the founder of the Order. This convention of July 12, 1866, as shown elsewhere in these pages, was not a Grand Army gathering. It was not called as such. There was then a Constitution, providing for Grand Army officers, but this convention was officered like all other like bodies, by a President, Secretary, etc. As he says, however, "this convention there formed the *nucleus* of the grand organization." So out of his own mouth it is here written, that "*then and there this grand organization took form as a nucleus, and from that humble origin it became a great power,*" but its growth started in Indiana.

So there could not have been an organization prior to that time; and the interview by General Foster and myself with Stephenson, Webber, and Mather, both of whom were designated as staff officers to General Palmer, coming almost immediately after this 12th of July convention, establishes the fact that the "*nucleus*" had not yet formed, because "the boys wouldn't take hold of it."

The roster of the Department of Illinois, 1904, shows "B. F. Stephenson, Past Department Commander, 1866," when in fact he was never such—even acting, for there was no Department organized, as it was claimed on July 12, 1866, and then General Palmer was elected President of the convention—not Department Commander. Nor is he credited as such in this roster. From Stephenson there is a gap of seven years to a Department Commander, Guy T. Gould, in 1873.

My impression had always been, up to the assembling at our 1st National Encampment, that there were nominal Department Commanders in this time, though their organization was not considered effective—at least strong enough for an active Department. These facts are mentioned to say that the old "Nevius" Post at Rockford—the last of all, of which Guy T. Gould was a member, survived to become the "nucleus" upon which the Department was organized, with their Comrade Gould for Department Commander—in 1873.

In all this time from July, 1866 to 1871, inclusive, the Department of Indiana had never wavered, but held her organization, as these pages show.

I remember very distinctly that, despite the printed General Order, No. 13, Springfield, Ill., on page 68 of the aforesaid "History," signed by Stephenson as "Commander-in-chief," he, calling the first National Encampment a "Convention," *declined to assume such authority and title.* We simply recognized the order as coming from headquarters, Grand Army of the Republic, Springfield. The "Convention," so termed by Stephenson, was the only kind of an

assembly he had as yet anything to do with in the organization. However, this "Convention" was assembled more on personal letters and solicitation, from not only our Department, but from others, the latter insisting it be held at Indianapolis. I remember that it was urged upon us not only by Stephenson, but by General Thomas L. Young, Department Commander of Ohio; General McKeon, Department Commander of New York; General Whittaker, of Connecticut; Dennison, of Maryland—in fact, by all those to whom I had given the secret work at Pittsburg. And the chief reason assigned was that *we had started the Order.*"

In this connection, noting the fact that Indiana has been "turned down" on her claim for seniority, it is refreshing to read the following from the aforesaid "History":

"The Department of Indiana supplied Major Stephenson with blank Charters, Rituals, and Regulations. . . . .

"The Department of Indiana was the only Department represented distinctly as such, in the Pittsburg Convention, having representatives from 138 Posts in response to a circular from Department Headquarters." This circular appears in preceding pages.

"Major O. M. Wilson, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Department of Indiana, was exceedingly active during this Convention in interviewing leading representatives relative to the Grand Army of the Republic, urging the organization of Posts; and for this purpose he obligated quite a number from the East, instructed them in the 'work,' and gave them copies of the rules and of the Ritual." (*Beath's "History,"* page 27.)

But, touching this first National Encampment, Comrade Beath alludes to Stephenson's disappointment in not being selected for "Commander-in-chief." Whatever this disappointment may have been, if any, in Major Stephenson not being chosen at first a Department Commander—which even that "convention of soldiers and sailors" and Grand Army men did not assume to do, at Springfield, on July 12th, 1866—he certainly could not feel that the National Encampment had slighted or overlooked him, or that his work was reflected upon. He called the Encampment to order. He could have no grievance, then, and so far as any disappointment there, which "he felt until his death," there are comrades living to-day who know, as I know, that he was asked to take the position of "Commander-in-chief," but declined, saying that he did not feel competent to fill the position, but would take a subordinate position, which he did—that of Adjutant-General. My impression was then, and has ever been, that he was a satisfied man in what he had given the soldiers. He advocated the election of General Hurlbut, our first Commanding Officer.

His administration of the Adjutant-General's office, as Comrade Beath finds and asserts, proves that he knew himself better than we knew him. The prime motive of his life, then, was to see the Order succeed, but he did not know how to forward its success. His motives were too pure and sincere to censure. He took every advantage of what seemed to offer an aid to its promotion. His one great purpose was to establish the Grand Army of the Republic. He did not look ahead for consequences, but regarded only the possibil-

ties of acquirement, which instead of giving him strength to maintain his position, brought to him a sense of humiliation, which never was shared by his comrades; rather did they feel and express a sympathy for a zeal he could not impart to others.

He was sometimes too hasty, not from fear, but anxiety to accomplish a great purpose. For instance, the anomalous position in which we find Major Stephenson on April 6, 1866—according to the record of said “History,” when he exercises Department rights and privileges before there was a legally constituted Department, unless the proceedings of the “*Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Convention*” are to be considered such, which Beath declares them to be—leads to the conclusion that the circular letter of April 18th, 1866, to Messrs. Kanan and Gunning, to draft constitution and by-laws, was simply preliminary to an organization, and that instead of being a “Department Commander” on April 6th, he was in fact without a command. If there had been a constitution in force then, such as we received from him in July, and *printed*, he would certainly have observed his proper title, and instead of signing a “Charter” as “Commanding Department,” he would have observed the language of his own constitution, and written himself by the proper designated title, “Department Commander.”

The question naturally suggests itself, If said Charter was issued April 6th, 1866, “in accordance with the Constitution of the Grand Army of the Republic,” how does it happen that on April 18th, 1866, a committee is appointed by him to “draft constitution and by-laws?” for in, through, and by such only could a Post be established.

“Up to this date,” says Comrade Beath, in his aforementioned history, “no constitution had been drafted, though the general plans had been discussed.” Then how could he take the title “Commander”? And even before this Stephenson issues General Order, No. 1, creating a Department staff, signing himself “Commanding Department.” Lest I appear hypercritical, I quote the language of the first Constitution of 1866, Art. III., Sec. 3: “The officers of each Department shall be, one Department Commander, one Adjutant-General, one Assistant Adjutant-General, . . .”

But Major Stephenson was an enthusiast. He was a grand man. He had a right to entitle himself as he pleased. The only contention I make is, that with all his titles he had no command at the time he assumed them, by reason of which wrong has been done other Departments by the sacrifice of the truth of history.

It was no humiliation in him to ask for Rituals and Constitutions, and they were given him even without the asking. Nor did we think it strange, or ask wherefore. We knew how hard he had worked to build up the Order in his own State. We did not forget from whom we obtained the “work,” and we did everything in our power to strengthen his hands. Under these conditions we were recognized and our wishes were respected in many things, and when Major Stephenson wrote us, and insisted, because of what we had done, that we ought of right to have the First National Encampment, we concurred, thanking him, and prepared for it.

But there is another error in this Beath's "History" I wish to correct: A fac-simile of the original Constitution as received and printed by the Department of Indiana is given entire to these pages. It is the first Constitution, as received from the hands of Major Stephenson. In it, as will be seen, the Declaration of Principles contains the word "sailors," so that the Indianapolis Convention did *not* add this word to said "Declaration." Nor as claimed in the aforesaid history, does this original have the "new section from the Constitution of the Loyal Legion" added by that convention, thus confirming the authentic character of this —the first and original Constitution, which embraced the word "sailors" in its first declaration of principles.

As to the Stephenson Ritual, which is also added to these pages, whatever the Committee did at the Indianapolis Convention in no wise changed its structure, as originally promulgated by Major Stephenson. This copy was printed by the Department of Indiana, as was the Constitution in 1866, as their title pages show.

The first serious attack made on this Ritual was at Philadelphia, in 1868, which resulted in shortening the "charge" of the Post Commander. This old Ritual was overthrown, annulled, abrogated by the "Three Degree" Ritual adopted at Cincinnati in May, 1869, of which mention is made hereafter. The many changes made by the Philadelphia Encampment in January, 1868, by the revision of the Ritual and Constitution made it necessary to compile for the better administration of the Department, encampment regulations, by-laws, and rules of order, which method we deemed

the best, to promulgate in a simple form regulation requirements. My impression now is, it was pronounced "contraband" by National Headquarters.

These matters are mentioned, not in the spirit of contention, but that the facts of history may be shown as they were regarded and existed at that time. We were to a degree unmindful of what others were doing, because we were too busy with our own State affairs. The subject of seniority never concerned us during these first years of the Order, when we supposed no such question could be raised, for in those months we never heard of any State or Post organization; we had no correspondence with such previous to General Foster's first "order"; we had no knowledge of any other Grand Army organization, or representation in Pittsburg; we saw no Grand Army men from other States, nor badges to distinguish such except our own; we made no effort to outdo anybody, but we did have it said to us at Pittsburg and at our First National Encampment, "Indiana takes the lead of all other States in point of organization of her delegates."

It may be possible that Iowa and Wisconsin had received the secret work, as we had done, but they certainly had not pressed their organization or opportunities as we had done, and during all this time, and almost up to the time of the Encampment in November, 1866, no sign had been made of any organization in these States or elsewhere. The roster of delegates in that Encampment shows this fact.

The Order had now become so strong in Indiana that it became necessary to lighten the burden upon Department

Headquarters, and to this end General Orders, No. 5, dated Nov. 1st, 1866, was issued, placing upon a selected comrade in each county, as the Constitution required, the duty of District Commander, to whom the Posts in his county should report, instead of directly to Department Headquarters. This "order" may be of interest to many, if not of any special historical value, and it is herewith given:

"Headquarters Department of Indiana,

"Grand Army of the Republic,

"Adjutant-General's Office,

"Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 1st, 1866.

"General Orders, No. 5.

"I. The following soldiers are authorized to organize the Districts assigned them:

District of Allen: Colonel George Humphrey.

District of Bartholomew: Colonel A. W. Prather.

District of Benton: Colonel James Parker.

District of Blackford: Major George W. Cuberly.

District of Boone: Captain Jesse Custar.

District of Carroll: Colonel John G. Clark.

District of Cass: Colonel Thomas H. Bringhurst.

District of Clay: Major Edward Armstrong.

District of Clinton: Captain J. M. Sims.

District of Crawford: Major W. T. Jones.

District of Dearborn: Major W. F. Howard.

District of Decatur: Colonel J. S. Scobey.

District of Delaware: General Thomas J. Brady.

District of Dubois: Major R. W. Wellman.

District of Elkhart: Major-General Milo S. Hascal.  
District of Fayette: Major Gilbert Trusler.  
District of Fountain: Captain Isaac W. Hart.  
District of Franklin: Major John C. Burton.  
District of Fulton: Colonel Kline G. Shryock.  
District of Gibson: Colonel James T. Embry.  
District of Grant: William Lewis.  
District of Greene: Colonel E. H. C. Cravens.  
District of Hamilton: A. M. Conklin.  
District of Hancock: Captain Amos C. Beeson.  
District of Harrison: General Henry Jordan.  
District of Hendricks: Colonel W. L. Vestal.  
District of Henry: Captain D. W. Chambers.  
District of Howard: Captain Thomas M. Kirkpatrick.  
District of Huntington: Major Henry B. Sayler.  
District of Jackson: Captain M. W. Tanner.  
District of Jasper: General R. H. Milroy.  
District of Jay: Cyrus Stanley.  
District of Jefferson: Colonel T. H. Harris.  
District of Jennings: Colonel H. Tripp.  
District of Johnson: Colonel John R. Fesler.  
District of Knox: Major Clark Willis.  
District of Kosciusko: General Reuben Williams.  
District of La Grange: Major J. W. Leitch.  
District of Lake: Major Wm. Krimbill.  
District of Lawrence: Lieutenant-Colonel Henry P. Davis.  
District of Madison: Colonel M. S. Robinson.  
District of Marion: General Fred Knefeler.

District of Miami: Colonel John M. Wilson.  
District of Monroe: Major James B. Mulky.  
District of Montgomery: Captain T. W. Fry.  
District of Morgan: Captain W. J. Manker.  
District of Noble: Captain M. F. Collier.  
District of Ohio: Major John W. Rabb.  
District of Owen: Major John W. Day.  
District of Parke: Colonel James R. Hallowell.  
District of Perry: Major M. Brucker.  
District of Posey: Major Sylvanus Milner.  
District of Putnam: Captain Milton A. Osborne.  
District of Randolph: General Thomas M. Browne.  
District of Ripley: Captain W. Hyatt.  
District of Rush: Colonel W. A. Cullen.  
District of Shelby: Samuel F. Mason.  
District of St. Joseph: Major O. S. Witherill.  
District of Switzerland: Major Wm. Patton.  
District of Tippecanoe: Captain John A. Stein.  
District of Tipton: Captain George O. Hardesty.  
District of Union: General Thomas W. Bennett.  
District of Vanderburg: Major Blythe Hines.  
District of Vermillion: A. M. Staats.  
District of Vigo: Colonel W. E. McLean.  
District of Wabash: General C. S. Parrish.  
District of Warren: General George D. Wagner.  
District of Washington: Colonel D. W. C. Thomas.  
District of White: Colonel Alfred Reed.  
District of Whitley: Captain Isaac B. Hymer.

“II. Post Commanders will henceforth receive all instructions from their respective District Commanders.

“III. . . . .

“By order of the Department Commander,

“O. M. WILSON,

“Adjutant-General Department.”

At this time it was apparent that the growth of the Order in the Eastern States would soon force a national conclave, and to all letters, suggesting that the Department of Indiana take the initiative in calling such body together, General Foster answered that we always recognized in Major Stephenson the “father” of the Order, as he had given us the “work,” though we had never received any orders from him that would lead us to report to, or otherwise recognize him as “Commander-in-chief.” He suggested that correspondence be had with Major Stephenson, stating also that we were ready to act in conjunction with other Departments.

We accordingly wrote to Stephenson, suggesting some action on the line of these letters, and saying we desired to recognize his authority, and would act on his orders. Major Stephenson was pleased by this deference to his feelings and wishes. He even requested to be recognized as the proper one to call such National Encampment; at the same time he declared the Department of Indiana was the proper one to have it, as it was the one from which the Order first went out as a State organization, and on this account and because of our great strength as a Department, he wanted the first National Encampment held in Indiana. He fur-

ther stated that he had succeeded in organizing a number of Posts in his State, some of which, besides their State headquarters, had received favors from our Department.

Following this correspondence, Stephenson issued, as "Commander-in-chief," General Order, No. 13, dated Springfield, Ill., Oct. 31st, 1866, for "a National Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic, to convene at Indianapolis at 10 o'clock on Tuesday, the 20th day of November, 1866." I now here call attention to the fact that the word "convention" does not appear in the Constitution, under which presumably this General Order, No. 13, was issued.

Article III., title, "Organization," reads:

"Section 1. This association shall be composed of National, State, County, and Precinct organizations, and shall be called 'The Grand Army of the Republic.' The National organization shall be known as the 'Grand Army of the Republic.'

"Sec. 2. The officers of the Grand Army of the Republic shall be one Commanding Officer . . . .

"Sec. 3. . . . of each Department—one Department Commander.

"Sec. 4. . . . District Commander, . . . .

"Sec. 5. . . . Post Commander, . . . .

"Sec. 6. The duties of Commanding Officers shall be essentially those of a presiding officer; and in his absence the members present *in camp* shall select a member to perform his duties *pro tempore*."

In Article V, Sec. 4, the word "encampment" is used for the first time, and this in connection with District meetings. Properly, then, in calling the National organization together, instead of saying, "a National Convention," had he said, "The Grand Army of the Republic" will assemble, he would have expressed the language of the Constitution; and further, as will be seen hereafter, the proceedings would not have been characterized by the selection of officers, such as govern ordinary deliberative bodies, as it was the duty of the senior officer of any organized Department, in the absence of national officers, provisional or otherwise, to call the assembly to order and conduct the deliberations to a permanent organization. However, though Article III., Sec. 3 of our Constitution provided who and what these officers should be in a national assembly, the right as such was not claimed, and the Encampment was called to order and organized as any civic body would be, by Major Stephenson, yet all these months we had been working under titles fixed by a constitution and crystallized in a ritual.

In response, therefore, to this General Order, No. 13, and following its language, General Foster issued Special Orders, No. 31, for the benefit and guidance of the District Commanders of the Department:

"I. . . . .

"II. District Commanders assigned by General Orders, No. 5, dated Headquarters Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, Nov. 1st, 1866, will hasten the organization of their respective districts, as therein specified, and enjoin, as far as possible in their power to do, a

strict and immediate conformance to instructions contained in Special Order, No. 13, accompanying.

“III. Delegates to the National Convention will receive their credentials through their respective District Commanders. These credentials will be taken up at these headquarters, and a card given therefor, in order that a proper record may be had of delegations of this Department in said convention, and for the better and more convenient preservation of said credentials by Headquarters Department of Indiana.

“IV. District Commanders will not receive delegates from Posts that have not complied with Article VII., Sec. 1, Constitution Grand Army of the Republic, but only such as present their charter are entitled to representation as specified in Article III., Sec. 4, Constitution Grand Army of the Republic. An immediate compliance with the requirements of Article VII., Sec. 1, is earnestly desired, and commanders are requested to enforce its provisions, if possible, throughout their district, in order that the Grand Army of the Republic of Indiana, at the National Convention, may present a reflection of her patriotism so valiantly and bravely shown and maintained in solid column, in “skirmish line,” and “on picket” in the field.

“V. It is desirable that not only delegates should be in attendance at this convention, but members of the Grand Army generally are requested to ‘rally’ to give greeting to our comrades who come in our midst from all parts of the

country to pledge anew the principles that triumphed over treason.

“By order of

“MAJOR-GENERAL R. S. FOSTER,  
*“Department Commander.”*

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General Department.*”

Though much has been said derogatory to this first organization, and against the rightful claim of Indiana to seniority, let the sententious answer, what kind of an assembly would this have been; what representation, as an association of soldiers, would have gathered there; who would have responded to Stephenson’s proclamation, had not Indiana come up with her muster rolls of thousands, and stood sponsor for other States whose delegates then, as Grand Army men, represented Departments, and to whom Indiana had given the obligation and their charter at Pittsburg in September, 1866?

That National Encampment performed its purpose in every way. It chose a “Commanding Officer,” and gave the Order a national existence. As what? History answers, “The Grand Army of the Republic.” Who else than Grand Army men could have done this? And who were these men and what States did they represent? Every State was represented, and recognized as a “*Department.*” This was not denied then, and the Committee on Credentials credited with approval each State as such Department as then and there entitled to representation in that Encampment as a *de facto* and *de jure Department.*

The structure of this first National Encampment may best be judged by the following facts and committees:

Called to order by Major Stephenson, Colonel John M. Snyder, of Illinois, was appointed Secretary; and General Julius C. Webber, of Illinois, and Major O. M. Wilson, of Indiana, Assistant Secretaries.

Indiana was entitled to and presented at this First National Encampment two hundred and ten (210) delegates, who were seated on report of the Committee on Credentials. About one hundred and fifty of these delegates were private soldiers. Illinois had thirty-four (34) delegates seated. Of these 10 were generals, 1 colonel, 2 majors, 13 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 surgeons, 4 untitled. Ohio had sixteen (16) delegates, all seated. Missouri had nine (9) delegates, all seated. Wisconsin had five (5) delegates: 1 general, 2 captains, 2 untitled, all seated. Iowa had four (4) delegates: 1 general, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, all seated. New York, two (2) delegates, seated. District of Columbia, one (1) delegate, seated. Pennsylvania, three (3) delegates, all seated. Kentucky, three (3) delegates, seated. Kansas, five (5) delegates, all seated. Arkansas, one (1) delegate, seated.

#### STATES REPRESENTED.

|               |                       |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| Kentucky.     | District of Columbia. |
| Ohio.         | Missouri.             |
| Indiana.      | Iowa.                 |
| Pennsylvania. | Illinois.             |
| Wisconsin.    | Kansas.               |
| New York.     | Arkansas.             |

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

General Chetlain, Illinois.  
W. H. McCoy, Ohio.  
L. E. Dudley, District Columbia.  
Colonel Clayton McMichael, Pennsylvania.  
Colonel John S. Cavender, Missouri.  
Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, Kentucky.  
Major T. J. Anderson, Kansas.  
General Robert S. Catterson, Arkansas.  
Captain Gwynne, Wisconsin.  
Major A. P. Alexander, Iowa.  
Captain M. C. Garber, Indiana.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Colonel Burge, Kentucky.  
General A. Willich, Indiana, then of Ohio.  
Colonel T. P. Ledergerber, Missouri.  
Colonel Clayton McMichael, Pennsylvania.  
Charles G. Mayers, Wisconsin.  
General S. A. Hurlbut, Illinois.  
General William Vandever, Iowa.  
Colonel John G. Kelly, Pennsylvania.  
Colonel Kidd, New York.  
Major T. J. Anderson, Kansas.

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

Colonel Milward, Kentucky.  
Colonel Feltus, Pennsylvania.  
Colonel E. F. Snyder, Ohio.  
General C. Harding.

Colonel John G. Kelly, Pennsylvania.

Richard Lester, Wisconsin.

General Thomas O. Osborn, Illinois.

Captain S. D. Price, Iowa.

General Charles Cruft, Indiana.

The Committee on Business was made the Committee on Constitution, consisting of one from each Department, to be appointed by the presiding officer.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

John McNeil, Missouri.

Charles Case, Indiana.

R. G. Feltus, Pennsylvania.

A. P. Alexander, Iowa.

J. K. Proudfoot, Wisconsin.

A. L. Chetlain, Illinois.

T. B. Fairleigh, Kentucky.

T. T. Taylor, Ohio.

The first officers chosen by this Encampment were:

General Stephen A. Hurlbut, Commander-in-chief, Illinois.

General John B. McKeon, S.V., Commander-in-chief, New York.

General R. S. Foster, J.V., Commander-in-chief, Indiana.

Major B. F. Stephenson, Adjutant-General, Illinois.

General August Willich, Quartermaster-General, Ohio.

Major D. C. McNeil, Surgeon-General, Missouri.

General W. A. Pile, Chaplain, Missouri.

COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATION.

J. K. Proudfit, Wisconsin.

William Vandever, Iowa.

Thomas O. Osborn, Illinois.

T. C. Fletcher, Missouri.

T. T. Taylor, Ohio.

H. K. Milward, Kentucky.

F. J. Bramhall, New York.

Nathan Kimball, Indiana.

Clayton McMichael, Pennsylvania.

It is now proper and just that the record of these States be shown in the Grand Army of the Republic, since they were recognized in this Encampment as Departments:

Maryland had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

Kentucky had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

New Jersey had the Ritual and Charter, September, 1866.

Ohio had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

Pennsylvania had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

Rhode Island had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866; not in Encampment.

District of Columbia had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

Massachusetts had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866; not in Encampment.

Connecticut had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866; not in Encampment.

Kansas had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

New York had the Ritual and Charter September, 1866.

To whom given: Dennison, of Maryland; Fairleigh, of Kentucky; Jardine, of New Jersey; Young, of Ohio; Hartranft, of Pennsylvania; Shaw, of Rhode Island; Lubey, of District of Columbia; Devens, Quint, and Cushman, of Massachusetts; Whittaker, of Connecticut; Martin and Anderson, of Kansas; McKeon, of New York; all of these Commanders having received the Ritual and charter from Indiana.

Yet according to the *Roster* (?) constructed since, and long after the triumphs of Indiana had enshrined these States in the Grand Army of the Republic and the Grand Army of the Republic in the heart of the Nation, we have:

Maryland, as organized January 8th, 1868.

Kentucky, as organized January 17th, 1883.

New Jersey, as organized January 17th, 1868.

New York, as organized April 3d, 1867.

Ohio, as organized January 3d, 1867.

Pennsylvania, as organized January 16th, 1867.

Rhode Island, as organized March 24th, 1868.

Potomac, as organized February 13th, 1869.

Missouri, as organized May 16th, 1867.

Massachusetts, as organized May 7th, 1867.

Kansas, as organized December 7th, 1866.

Indiana, as organized November 22d, 1866.

Connecticut, as organized April 11th, 1867.

As to Tennessee and Kentucky, see Logan's General Orders. If the above "roster" is true, then the record of the first National Encampment is an *ignis fatuus*. If any one State in that Encampment had a right to be there, it

was under the same Constitution under which Indiana had organized not only her own soldiers, but those representing the other States there represented. The only difference was, she had made the most of her opportunities and privileges given in that Constitution. If, therefore, by eating too much meat she offended her brother, she should not be stricken because they didn't eat enough, or any. It is *not egotism* for Indiana to point to this Encampment as *her* product, but it is simple, plain, unalloyed, unadulterated, sublimated cheek, impudence, and contempt for her achievements and political triumphs for any man to deny it. If there is a chapter in the history of the Order of which Indiana soldiers should be proud, it is that page on which is written that victory which was ours in peace as well as in war for the principles of Republican government. It is immaterial to the Indiana Comrade of the Grand Army now, where the Department of Indiana is placed in the national organization, whether at the top or at the bottom; he has for his shibboleth, triumph in loyalty, obedience to the laws, patriotism, and good government.

It is proper and germane hereto to recall the speech made by the war governor of Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, at a public meeting on the evening following the adjournment of this National Encampment, which was presided over by General John M. Palmer. Governor Morton, after expressing words of welcome on behalf of the State of Indiana to the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, said:

“You belong to an army that saved the Nation—the grandest army of any nation in the world, a citizen army which understood well the cause for which they drew their swords. The country now is in a transition period. . . . We are in the midst of a revolution not outside of the Constitution, but such as occurs within constitutions. . . . The gratitude of the country is due to the men who saved it, and that gratitude will grow stronger as the years go by. The crippled and maimed soldiers will be nourished and protected, and the apothegm that “Republics are ungrateful” proven false in the case of America, which will take care of those to whom it owes its national existence.”

Eulogy of Governor Morton is not needed. The war produced no greater man. No man stood closer to the soldiers than he did. No man was more loved by the loyal people of this Nation than Morton. Lincoln was worshiped,—Morton was a part of every soldier from Indiana. His heart-strings were linked with theirs. His whole life was absorbed by all they did. I went with him to the battle-field of Fort Donelson, and saw the majestic personality and dauntless, untiring energy given to the succor of Indiana soldiers, and the great sympathy go out from him for the many wounded Confederates, many of whom were brought to our State. I saw him again with his staff of army surgeons and nurses when they came to us on the Yazoo River in May, 1863, to Grant’s Vicksburg army. Where there was pain and suffering, hardship and exposure, anguish of wounds and death, Morton was there to administer to his “boys” and relieve their distress. Wherever we

went he followed us with the care of a father. In the executive office no want was overlooked, no need neglected. Wherever the "boy," his watchful eye followed him, and his great heart went out to him.

Who, then, could feel a greater admiration for their heroism, a deeper love for their achievements, than the man whose spirit had dwelt with them through the long night of civil war? What better person than he could speak for Indiana and the Nation, as he did speak to these veterans, representing their comrades from every State that was represented in the Union Army? It was the overflowing of a full heart for the success of our arms against disloyalty. Nor did he propose that the fruits of this victory should be lost when he appealed to them to stand by the principles for which they had taken up arms. If internecine strife was to follow, he proposed without any dalliance to crush it with the same spirit, and the same men who had crushed the rebellion. The principles of republican government should prevail, and its enemies rooted out from every spot where the germ had fastened a disloyal footing. He violated no moral, religious, or civic rule when he appealed to the soldiers of his State to rally against the strongholds of the enemy, in sympathy for the "lost cause." Yes, we had "a Morton in our campaign," and although this Grand Army of the Republic was a means to an end, we would have won with a like organization along the same lines.

And when in later years—in 1869—the Constitution was made to read, "No officer or comrade of the Grand

Army of the Republic shall in any manner use this organization for partisan purposes, and no discussion of partisan questions shall be permitted at any of its meetings, nor shall any nominations for political office be made," that moment the right of fellowship was changed from what the comradeship of the field offered, to the sentiment of the lodgeroom, that could not under any conditions sustain the ardor and support the inclination of the veteran, who felt like giving his energies, active and aggressive, on the line his soldier life suggested. What better service could the soldier then give his country than to keep it, as he did, by every honorable means where he placed it in 1864-65, liberated from a slave oligarchy, and united as a gigantic nationality? What is the soldier's life? Shall he pose for and pretend to be what he is not—a hypocrite?

I stood close to Morton and the national leaders in 1866 and 1868, and I say with pride and a satisfied conscience—not boastingly—that the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic in Indiana in 1866 and 1868 did more for the security of peace and good government throughout the Nation than has ever since been done by it, or any other organization. This was Morton's judgment and the declared conviction of many other national leaders.

I know what was done in that campaign. I knew every politician in the State, active, and inactive. I knew every weak place, and was enabled to help strengthen it. I was not only the Adjutant of the Department, but Secretary of the Senate. Thus placed in this period of our State's history, I was enabled to feel the "pulse-beat" of the good

and the bad in politics, and under the leadership of my superior officers, aided in keeping Indiana in the column of loyal States. In so doing, Indiana was held Republican. The Senate and House were Republican—this was the struggle, to win the Legislature. And winning it, Indiana gave to the United States Senate Oliver P. Morton. This is what the Grand Army did in 1866 in Indiana.

In his moments of reflection, in the hour when the acclaim of her soldiers came to him through their representatives in the General Assembly of Indiana in the regular session of 1867, Oliver P. Morton did not forget them, when he laid down the duties of governor of the State to accept the office of United States senator, to which he was elected on January 23d, 1867. His message to that body on January 24th, bore these words:

“ . . . To that large body of friends who nobly sustained me through the difficulties by which I was surrounded during the dark and perilous hours of the Rebellion, I am bound by sentiments of affection and gratitude which will end only with my life.

“To the officers and soldiers of Indiana, whose devoted patriotism and heroic valor have shed so much luster upon the State and Nation, I return my heartfelt thanks for their many manifestations of confidence and regard. *My connection with them in the organization and support of the army will ever be the proudest period of my life.* May this people hold them in grateful and affectionate remembrance.”

Following this first National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic was the first Encampment of the Department of Indiana that convened in Morrison's Opera Hall on the evening of November 21st, 1866. An order for this assembly was undoubtedly issued, but I do not find it among my papers. My impression now is, that the representation was fixed after the Encampment was called to order, from the fact that some Posts were more largely represented than others as delegates in the National Encampment. I think the Posts were each allowed one vote, and so many additional votes for a number above a certain membership. I remember that the Department Encampment was at least three times larger in numbers than the vote cast indicated. General Foster presented a brief outline of his work as Department Commander, which comprised the organization of ten Congressional Districts, and the establishment of some three or four hundred Posts, of which at this time one hundred and seventy were chartered.

The official record of this first Department Encampment passed from year to year among the papers of the Adjutant-General's office, into the hands of Colonel Humphrey's Adjutant-General in 1870, whose office and contents was destroyed by fire in 1871, as I have been advised. I have, therefore, my personal memoranda only of the more important proceedings, from which I take the following:

“On motion of Major W. T. Jones, of the District of Harrison, the Encampment proceeded to the election of Department officers for the next ensuing year.

“General Frank White, of Owen, nominated for Department Commander Major-General Nathan Kimball; Captain S. D. Lyon, of Hancock, put in nomination Major-General R. S. Foster; Colonel J. O. Martin nominated General Dan Macauley. General Foster withdrew his name for the reason he had been chosen Junior Vice-Commander-in-chief, and could not act as Department Commander.

“General Kimball received 58 votes, General Macauley 25 votes. General Kimball was declared elected.

“For Senior Vice-Commander, General Dan Macauley, Colonel M. Peden, General Jasper Packard, Colonel Charles Case, General Thomas J. Brady and Private A. C. Rowlison were placed in nomination. The result of the first ballot was Macauley 35, Peden 8, Packard 2, Case 4, Brady 10, Rowlison 23. Generals Macauley’s and Brady’s names were withdrawn, when on motion Private A. C. Rowlison was elected by acclamation.

“For Junior Vice-Commander, Colonel James R. Hallowell, Colonel E. H. Wolfe and Colonel Charles Case were placed in nomination. Colonel Hallowell received 16 votes, Colonel Wolfe 1 vote, Colonel Case received the majority of all the votes cast and was declared elected.

“For Adjutant-General, Captain E. P. Howe and Major O. M. Wilson were placed in nomination. Captain Howe received 15 votes; Major Wilson received 67 votes and was declared elected.

“For Quartermaster-General, Colonel Samuel Merrill, Colonel A. J. Hawhe, and Major John Popp were placed in nomination. On the first ballot Colonel Merrill had 19

votes, Colonel Hawhe 26 votes, Major Popp 25 votes. On second ballot, the lowest candidate being dropped, Colonel Hawhe received 36 votes, Major Popp 35 votes. Colonel Hawhe was declared elected.

“For Council of Administration, General Thomas J. Brady, Colonel O. H. P. Bailey, Private J. K. Powers, Colonel James R. Hallowell, and Colonel C. J. Dobbs were chosen.

“For Surgeon-General, Dr. J. K. Bigelow and Dr. T. W. Fry were placed in nomination. Dr. J. K. Bigelow received 51 votes, and was declared elected.

“For Chaplain, A. Allen, J. H. Lozier, and Captain Irwin were placed in nomination. On the first ballot Allen received 20 votes, Lozier 21 votes, Irwin 33 votes. The name of Chaplain Allen was withdrawn, and the second ballot stood, Lozier 21 votes, Irwin 49 votes, and he was declared elected.

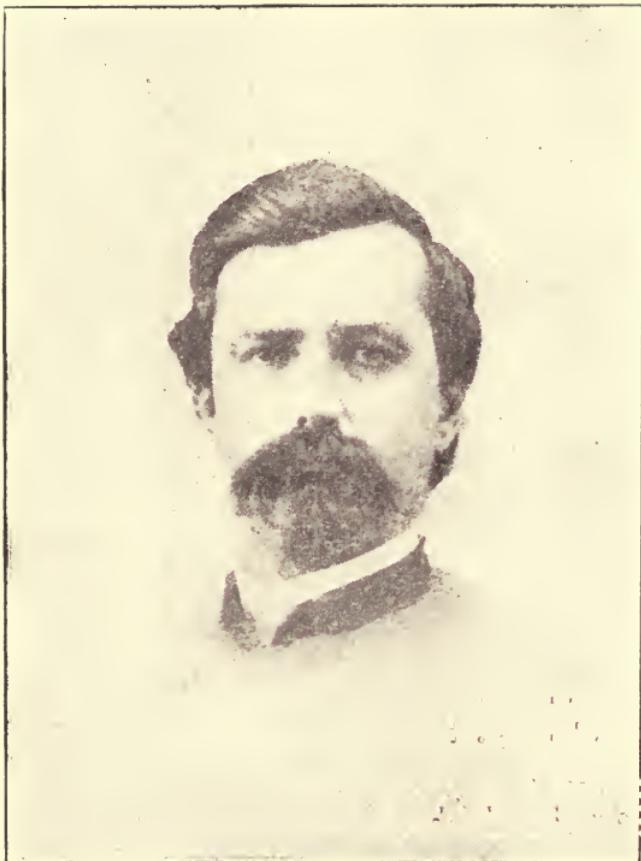
“The following resolution, offered by Colonel James R. Hallowell, of Parke, was adopted unanimously:

“*Resolved*, That in the name of our fallen comrades of our own proud Hoosier State, we pledge the devotion of our time, our energy, our means, and, if need be, our lives, in support of the principles set forth in the Constitution and resolutions adopted by the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.”

“On motion the Encampment dissolved.

“Attest:

“O. M. WILSON,  
“*Adjutant-General.*”



MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT S. FOSTER. (1866.)

*Department Commander of Indiana and Acting Provisional National Commander, July 1866 to Nov. 21, 1866. Junior Vice-Commander-in-Chief-Elect, Nov. 21, 1866 to January, 1868. Department Commandner of Indiana, 1868-9.*



On November 22d, 1866, General Kimball issued the following:

*“Fellow-Comrades:*

“Having been chosen by you in convention assembled, Commander, I now hereby assume command of this Department, with headquarters at Indianapolis. I congratulate the ‘army’ on the happy results of the National Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic in Indianapolis on the 20th and 21st inst. Our organization has now been definitely and solidly made national. It is only necessary to refer to the illustrious soldiers chosen for officers of the Grand Army to recall to every soldier memories of toilsome marches, weary vigils, battles, and sieges; and their past records give assurance of an able, wise, and energetic administration of the weighty responsibilities imposed upon them as leaders of the defenders of the Republic. The principles that actuate the true soldier can never become the heritage of any but a noble, generous, active, and humane people. The Grand Army fitly chooses to recognize only such principles, and as faithful comrades in the field let us always endeavor by our language and actions to secure and maintain the same pledges of devotion that we then and there made to that ‘old flag,’ which is emblematical of all that is good and great in a nation, and brave and loyal in man. Let every member of the ‘army’ remember that he is a soldier: our Posts are camps of instruction, not debating societies. Let a strict military discipline be maintained and a willing respect yielded to the officers whom you have elected for your leaders.

“With an abiding faith in the justice of our claims and righteousness of our principles, I recommend the widest possible diffusion of knowledge of our organization, until every true and tried soldier who has marched to the ‘music of the Union’ and worn the blue shall be mustered into the Grand Army of the Republic, and every suffering, disabled soldier, every soldier’s widow and his orphan shall be relieved by the sense of justice and liberal generosity, not the charity of the Government.

“I shall cheerfully give to you in the discharge of my duties all the ability I possess, and in return ask your earnest co-operation to make the Grand Army in Indiana all that the spirit of its laws demand and its provisions contemplate.

“The officers elected the staff of this Department are herewith announced:

“Senior Vice Commander, Private A. C. Rowlison.

“Junior Vice Commander, Colonel Charles Case.

“Adjutant-General, Major O. M. Wilson.

“Inspector-General, Colonel A. J. Hawhe.

“Surgeon-General, Dr. J. K. Bigelow.

“Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Irwin.

“NATHAN KIMBALL,

“*Commander, Department of Indiana, G. A. R.*”

In a General Order, No. 7, the following named comrades were appointed Aides-de-camp: Samuel Merrill, Aide-de-camp and Inspector-General; George H. Chapman, Dan Macauley, Henry Jordan, S. Edward Armstrong, Milo S. Hascall, Thomas M. Browne.

General Kimball's first Council assembled on the 9th of January, 1867. Articles of incorporation of the Grand Army for Indiana were ordered to be drawn as soon as the new constitution could be made part thereof. The Council directed that no badges be sold outside of the encampments in this Department; that no member shall receive nor be permitted to pay for a badge until his dues shall be paid to his Post; that a circular be issued to all Posts for a memorial to be signed by all soldiers and citizens, asking our Legislature to repeal the law permitting county commissioners to assess certain taxes affecting soldiers.

The salary of the Adjutant-General was fixed at one hundred dollars per month from and after Nov. 21st, 1866. Mileage, per diem, \$3.00, was allowed.

The administration of General Kimball was a remarkable one in many respects, chiefly in leaving everything to be done by his Adjutant-General, with whom there was always the heartiest accord and intimate fellowship. No act was done, no order ever written without the approval of the General. But General Kimball's zeal never flagged. He kept himself well informed of the progress of the Order. He almost always directed answers to letters. Anything that would contribute to the glory of the Order he would direct. His heart was very tender in love for the soldier, and many he assisted from his own means. He would not hear a soldier abused. He gave his confidence, and it was not abused.

One special and important event that occurred in his administration was the laying of the corner-stone of the

Soldiers' Home at Knightstown on the 4th of July, 1867. Of all acts of his life he regarded this to be the crowning one. That ceremony is a part of Indiana history that I deem worthy of preserving, and find no better place for it than in this connection.

"Headquarters Department of Indiana,  
"Grand Army of the Republic,  
"Adjutant-General's Office,  
"Indianapolis, May 27th, 1867.

*"Comrades:*

"While we commemorate on the 4th of July, 1867, the anniversary of our independence as a Nation, we should not forget our achievements in the late war for the preservation of the Union, especially on this day, when at Vicksburg and Gettysburg the principles of liberty and union were again triumphant by the surrender of the besieged citadel of the one, and the overthrow, at the other, of the enemy on the battle-field. It was by such patriotic ardor and devotion of the Union Army to these principles that we are once more permitted to enjoy the endearments of home and the blessings of a permanent Union. The luster of our arms will become brighter as time rolls on, and the name of American soldier will be a synonym for bravery, dauntless valor, and courage; his love of country and trust in an all-wise God will cast an eternal halo around the proud title, American citizen.

"The friendships, sympathy, and brotherly love formed in the field were unwillingly severed, but the same principles that actuated us there have re-united us in the peaceful walks of life, under the same flag, in a great 'Army'

whose mission is charity and love. Our duty now is to care for our wounded comrades and to protect and educate the families of deceased soldiers. Our opportunities are always; our duty eternal. To this wise purpose our State has generously established a 'Soldiers' Home.' Beautiful grounds have been purchased, and a suitable structure is now in process of erection. In consideration of our identity as a brotherhood with the inmates of the 'Home,' the Board of Directors have requested that the 'Grand Army' conduct the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone on the coming 4th of July. The ceremony will therefore be made, under the Grand Army of the Republic of this Department, an honor to the 'Army' and a tribute worthy of the comrades whose battle-scars secure to them the honor and gratitude of our noble State. For this occasion the order of the day will be duly announced from these headquarters.

"It is earnestly desired that comrades throughout the State will commemorate the coming Fourth wherever an opportunity is offered. A Grand Encampment in the District of Tippecanoe at Lafayette on this day, together with other Encampments in other districts, at different times, should receive, as far as possible, a cordial co-operation of all Posts in this Department. It is earnestly desired that our greatest national day may be made one of reunion of comrades, and let the time be propitious for more

closely uniting the veterans of the field in our Order of brotherhood.

“By order of

“NATHAN KIMBALL,  
“*Department Commander.*”

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*”

Special Orders, No. 14, dated May 28th, 1867, followed:

“I. District Commanders and Commanders of Posts, with the Adjutants thereof, are requested to meet with a committee and the officers of Headquarters Department, at headquarters Post No. 1, District of Henry, Knightstown, on Tuesday, June 4th, at 10 o’clock a. m., to confer with the Board of Directors of the Soldiers’ Home, to make the necessary arrangements for laying the corner-stone of the Home on the coming Fourth of July.

“By order of

“NATHAN KIMBALL,  
“*Department Commander.*”

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*”

“Headquarters Department of Indiana,

“Grand Army of the Republic,

“Adjutant-General’s Office,

“Indianapolis, Ind., June 6, 1867.

“[Circular.]

“The attention of the Comrades throughout the State, and especially of the members of Posts and Districts near the locality of the ceremony, is called to the enclosed programme of exercises, to be observed at the laying of the

‘corner-stone’ of the Soldiers’ Home at Knightstown, Indiana, on the coming Fourth of July, as arranged at the meeting of Comrades called for the purpose, at Knights-town, on the 4th inst.

“It is earnestly requested that the members of the Order will spare no effort which may be necessary to make this occasion—what it deserves to be—one of the grandest ever known in our State, a credit to the Army and an honor to the cause it represents.

“By order of

“NATHAN KIMBALL,

“*Commanding Department.*

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*

“[Official.]

“*Assistant Adjutant-General.*”

## PROGRAMME.

## ASSEMBLY SOUNDED AT 1 P. M.

Music by Band.

(Hail Columbia.)

Prayer . . . . . Comrade A. C. Allen,  
*Chaplain Post No. 1, District of Marion.*

Reading Declaration of Independence . . . . .  
 . . . . . Comrade O. M. Wilson,  
*Adjutant-General, Department of Indiana.*

Music by Band.  
*(Star Spangled Banner.)*

Laying Corner-Stone.

Depositing Articles in the Corner-Stone . . . . .  
 . . . . . Major-General Nathan Kimball,  
*Department Commander.*

Address . . . . . Comrade Governor Conrad Baker,  
*District of Vanderburg.*

Prayer . . . . . Chaplain H. J. Meek,  
*Knightstown.*

Music by Band.

Muster of Comrades and Address . . . . .  
 . . . . . Comrade William A. Cullen,  
*District of Rush.*

Grand Officer of the Day—Comrade William Cumback,  
 of Decatur.

Grand Marshal—Comrade Milton Peden, of Henry.

Assistant Marshal—Comrade W. M. Cameron, of  
 Henry.

## PROCEEDINGS AND CEREMONIES AT THE SOLDIERS' HOME, KNIGHTSTOWN.

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ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1867, ATTENDING THE LAYING  
OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE HOME, UNDER  
THE AUSPICES OF THE "GRAND ARMY  
OF THE REPUBLIC."

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*Reported for the Indianapolis Journal.*

The good people of Knightstown and vicinity, wearied with several days of busy preparation for the approaching celebration, slept in undisturbed quiet on the night of the third. Not even a fire-cracker or torpedo, or other ebullition of juvenile patriotism, broke upon the profound stillness of the scenes, until a national salute from Sergeant F. B. Rose's section of field artillery ushered in "The Glorious Fourth," awoke the echoes along the banks of Blue River, and reverberated among the hills of Henry and Rush. At this sound the usually "staid and stern decorum" of the quiet little town gave place to jubilant hilarity. Thousands of tongues seemed instantly to have found utterance. "Vilainous saltpetre" exploded on every hand, and our national colors were unfurled in the morning breeze, not only from the top of every building, but from every door and window, from the head of every horse and mule, in the hand of every boy and girl, and from every other place to which the minutest flag-staff could be attached.

Country wagons, freighted with entire families, from the babe in arms to the gray-haired grandsire, and ballasted with huge baskets of edibles, filled every road approaching the town, and rolled over the pike leading out to the "Home" in a continuous procession. The "solid yeomanry" of Henry, Rush and adjacent counties left their wheat-fields in mid-harvest and turned out with their families and work people to celebrate the day and testify their affection for our disabled heroes.

The first special train from Indianapolis arrived at nine o'clock, bringing His Excellency, Governor Baker, Hon. Will Cumbuck, President of the Senate, Rev. Dr. Scott, President of Hanover University, and several hundred members of the Grand Army of the Republic from Marion and other districts.

At twenty minutes past nine the procession was formed on Main Street in the following order, by Grand Marshal Comrade Milton Peden, assisted by Comrades W. M. Cameron and Wilburn.

#### ORDER OF PROCESSION.

1. Chief Marshal and Assistants.
2. Music (Knightstown Cornet Band).
3. His Excellency, Governor Baker (orator of the day) and Staff.
4. Soldiers of the War of 1812.
5. Blue River Lodge, No. 18, I. O. O. F.
6. Post No. 1, G. A. R., District of Henry.
7. Members of the G. A. R., from other Posts.
8. Citizens on foot.

9. Citizens in carriages.
10. Citizens on horseback.

From Main Street the procession filed out upon the Rushville pike, and moved toward the "Home," one and a half miles distant.

The ninth section, citizens in carriages, was the most important feature. Every variety of vehicular conveyance, from the rudest one-horse turn-out to the "coach and six," was represented, and all so bedecked with evergreens, flowers, flags, and streamers—so covered with the gay and elegant costumes of their beautiful and happy occupants, that country wagons looked as gay as city equipages.

The Odd Fellows made a really fine appearance, and were present in numbers sufficient to indicate the prosperity of the Order in that locality.

The Grand Army portion of the procession was not so numerous. The fact is, "the boys" have had their fill of marching, and have seen so much of the "pomp and circumstance of war," that they do not care to take part in parades that seem insignificant when contrasted with those in which they have participated. Thousands of soldiers were in attendance, but only a small proportion of them marched in procession. Men whose feet "kept time to the music of the Union" from Phillippi to the Rio Grande, and from Stone River to the Atlantic, may well be excused from holiday marches.

The venerable Major William M. Doughty, of Henry, and other soldiers of 1812, among whom we noticed Lazarus B. Wilson, of Indianapolis, father of Comrade O. M. Wilson, constituted the fourth section.

Arriving at the “Home” shortly after ten o’clock, the procession dispersed, and, mingling with other assembled thousands, strolled through the groves belonging to the grounds of the Institution.

A most impressive scene it was, when the crutches and the wooden limbs struck the floor, and the empty sleeves helped to remind us of the sad, sad story of treason and murder. All seated, a blessing was asked by Governor Baker, and the viands were discussed to the apparent satisfaction of all at the bountiful board.

The Assembly was sounded at one o’clock, and a vast crowd variously estimated at from eight to twelve thousand persons, gathered in front of the stand which had been erected in a grove opposite the old Home, and near the site of the building in process of erection. The stand was decorated with battle-flags of the 8th, 19th, 27th, 30th, 37th, 43d, 51st, 57th, 69th, and 84th regiments. Before the exercises, as set down in the programme, commenced, General Kimball arrived upon the grounds with General Charles Crust and Adjutant-General Terrell. As Colonel Peden was about to apologize for the absence of General Kimball, supposing him to be in New York, attending to his duties as one of the Sinking Fund Board, the General was espied working his way through the crowd, and the “leader of the forlorn hope at Fredericksburg” was obliged to show himself upon the stand and submit to a round or two of such cheers as only Western soldiers can give. When the applause was subsided, Comrade Will Cumback, Grand Officer of the Day, called the meeting to order. The band played *Hail Colum-*

bia, which was followed by an eloquent and fervent prayer from Comrade A. C. Allen, Chaplain Post No. 1, District of Marion. The Declaration of Independence was read by Comrade O. M. Wilson, Adjutant-General Department of Indiana. Major Wilson's elocution brought out the full meaning of that revered production of one of the Fathers of the Republic. In this effort, not less than in his many arduous labors to insure the success of the celebration, the Major acquitted himself most handsomely. He has earned the gratitude of all his comrades. The Star Spangled Banner, by the band, concluded the preliminary exercises at the stand, and

LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE,

with solemn and imposing ceremonies, was the next thing in order. The vast crowd gathered about the southwest corner of the foundation, and the Governor and other dignitaries and officials took their places upon a platform which had been prepared for the occasion. The Grand Officer of the Day introduced Chaplain H. J. Meek, of Knightstown, who invoked the divine blessing upon the Institution, its inmates, and all who had contributed to its aid or advancement.

A metallic box containing the articles was then deposited in the cavity by Comrade O. M. Wilson, when General Charles Croft, with a few appropriate remarks, read the following

LIST OF ARTICLES DEPOSITED IN THE CORNER-STONE.

1. Declaration of Independence.
2. Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States.

3. Constitution of the United States.
4. Constitution of Indiana.
5. Washington's Farewell and Other Addresses.
6. History of the States of the Union.
7. Ordinances of 1787.
8. Emancipation Proclamation.
9. Chronological Record of the Rebellion.
10. Act of the General Assembly of Indiana establishing the Soldiers' Home.
11. Second Inaugural Address of President Lincoln.
12. History of the Soldiers' Home from the time of its organization, 10th of August, 1865, to the 1st of April, 1867, the time of its transfer from the Association to the State of Indiana.
13. Constitution and Charter of the Grand Army of the Republic.
14. Circulars, General and Special Orders of the Grand Army from the time of its organization in Indiana, August 20, 1866.
15. Message of Governor Oliver P. Morton, delivered to the General Assembly of Indiana, January 11, 1867.
16. Governor Baker's Message to the Legislature, communicating reports in reference to the Indiana Sanitary Commission, and Memorial of the Board of Trustees of the Indiana Agricultural College.
17. Adjutant-General W. H. H. Terrell's Reports of Indiana Soldiers.
18. Report of the Indiana Military Agency to the Governor, December, 1864.

19. Senate and House Reports of the General Assembly of the Committee on Military Affairs.

20. Report of Adjutant-General Laz. Noble, from January 1, 1863, to November 12, 1864.

The cap of the stone was then placed over the box, and General Nathan Kimball, Commanding Department of Indiana, stepping forward, read the following ceremonial address prepared for the occasion :

#### GENERAL KIMBALL'S ADDRESS.

*"Comrades and Fellow-Citizens:*

"On this great national day we have assembled to lay this corner-stone, the emblematic support of the 'Home' of our wounded and disabled comrades.

"We dedicate this 'Home' to our comrades, whom battle-scars have made priceless jewels in the tiara of our national crown. Their history is co- eternal with the scenes and events of many battle-fields, where they so nobly gave themselves a sacrifice.

"Within this corner-stone we record our remembrance of the many painful and toilsome marches, and the patient endurance through the long night of war: and in this remembrance, with our ranks thinned, though not broken, we pledge to them and to each other that, come weal or woe, the same old flag shall protect us as a nation as long as an arm can be raised to strike, or a voice to plead in its defense.

"Let the cannon with its battle-clouds bring to the memory of our comrades the day of peril. [One salute of cannon.] Him who shall dare to strike the flag, emblem of

all that is good and great, let the *earnest sound* warn. [Two salutes of cannon.]

“Now peace has come with her enticing charms, and the battle-field is losing its horrors. Encircling that scene of desolation and violent decay, rounded knoll, deep ravine, and undulating plain, once seamed and dented with earthworks, now grass-grown, spread out the ripening harvests to greet the peaceful morn. In the midst of this glad serene, ‘with malice toward none, with charity for all,’ let us remember the duty of the hour; our duty to our country, our duty to the Supreme Ruler, whose providence blesses this Nation to-day as the soil of freedom. Our duty to the world is to hold intact our nationality—to prove that we are a free, sovereign, and independent people, controlled by that instrument which was conceived in purity and born in patriotism—our Constitution. May its ensign, that has commanded respect and veneration in the gloom of Oriental despotism, guiding the wandering American with its morning stars, and at sunset blending its hues with the vault of heaven to shield and protect him, that made the solitary pilgrimage at Valley Forge and crossed the ice-bound waters at Trenton with victory gleaming upon it, that has been unfurled from the snows of Canada to the halls of Montezuma and amid the solitudes of every sea, the symbol of resistless and beneficent power; that has led the free to victory and *triumphed over treason*—may it ever be like the guardian angel over this Home, and under its folds may this chosen spot, consecrated this day, be forever sacred and honored.”

At the conclusion of the address, the stone was cemented to its place, over which tattoo was sounded, and the Rev.

Dr. Scott, President of Hanover College, in an eloquent and appropriate prayer, concluded the ceremonies.

Returning to the stand, the crowd occupied every available inch of sitting or standing room where there could be the remotest possibility of hearing the oration. The Grand Officer of the Day introduced His Excellency, Governor Baker, as the orator of the day, who secured the closest attention of his immense audience during the delivery of his address, which occupied about forty-five minutes.

#### INCIDENTAL MATTERS.

##### SERGEANT ROSE'S ARTILLERY,

Which furnished the thunder, without which no Fourth of July could be duly celebrated, was manned by one gun-squad from Indianapolis and another from Knightstown, all of the Fifteenth Indiana Battery. The neat and soldierly appearance of the men, and their gentlemanly deportment, and the highly artistic manner in which they performed their part in the programme, elicited much praise. Their "salutes," which pointed the emphasis of the address by General Kimball, were fired with the most accurate precision. It seemed to the spectators as if a perfect understanding existed between the General and the guns.

##### THE NEW BUILDING.

Most of our readers are aware that the last General Assembly relieved the voluntary associations, which had previously supported the Soldiers' Home, of the care and maintenance of that institution. An appropriation was made for its support, though not on a very liberal basis, and a fur-

ther appropriation was granted for the erection of a permanent building to take the place of the inadequate and inconvenient structures now in use. The new building now being erected under the supervision of the Commissioners, Messrs. Hannaman, of Marion, Hill, of Rush, and Hubbard, of Henry County, will be one hundred and fifty feet long, sixty feet wide, and three stories high. The first story will be thirteen feet, and the other two twelve feet each, from floor to ceiling. It is intended to afford ample accommodations for two hundred inmates, besides the families of the Superintendent and the Steward. Kitchen, hospital, laundry, and bathing-rooms will all be in the main building.

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Another event marked the administration of General Kimball. Reference is made to it in Beath's History, p. 77, as follows:

"The failure to convene the National Encampment during the year gave occasion for considerable criticism, and a number of leading comrades felt it necessary to strongly advise the Commander-in-chief of the evil consequences of such delay.

General Beath expresses it very mildly. The fact was, Stephenson, as Adjutant-General, was not supported in his own State as he should have been, and General Hurlbut, as Commander-in-chief, was apathetic from the same cause. "At the same time," as Beath truly says, "Stephenson, though thoroughly devoted to the Order, . . . lacked in the requisites for the methodical conduct of office business."

As early as April, murmurs came from Eastern States, those especially that were given the work at Pittsburg, of

the neglect and indifference to appeals by the National Headquarters. Some of this correspondence even requested the officers of our headquarters, to write and even go over to Springfield to see what was the matter. We had not felt any neglect, because probably we were in an advanced stage of organization, and needed no help, yet we knew General Hurlbut's administration was a failure. It is true, as Beath says, other Departments found it necessary to provide their own supplies, such as rituals, regulations, etc. However, we interceded upon these complaints. We found Stephenson lacking in about everything, chiefly thorough organization, which he frankly admits in his report in January, 1868, to the National Encampment.

Reporting these facts and the general apathy to Departments making inquiries simply fanned the flames to an almost open rebellion. The condition of National Headquarters was the subject of much correspondence. The tension at last became so great that General Kimball directed correspondence with certain Departments, with a view of bringing the consequences of further neglect to the knowledge of General Hurlbut, in such a way as to make him feel that he was in a way partly responsible. Accordingly in April, I addressed communications to the several Department Commanders, who had written to Indiana Headquarters. The answers of several of these gentlemen follow:

“Saratoga Springs,  
“April 18th, 1867.

“General:

“Your communication of the 13th inst., in which by direction of General Kimball, Commanding Department of Indiana, Grand Army of the Republic, you request a conference of the Department officers of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, at a very early day, at some convenient place, is received and carefully considered. The proposition impresses me favorably, and I assent to it, believing that much good must result from such a conference.

“Is it desirable that the proposed conference be participated in by certain able men from the Eastern States, where, by agencies emanating from this Department, our Order has been extended, and where provisional organizations exist? . . .

“Your obedient servant,

“JAMES B. McKEAN,  
“*Grand Commander, Department of New York,*  
“*Grand Army of the Republic.*”

Answers with other suggestions coming from other States, General McKean was again written to, and advised of this correspondence. His reply follows:

“Saratoga Springs, May 20th, 1867.

“Major O. M. Wilson, *Adjutant-General, Department of Indiana.*

“Dear Sir:—I have been looking with interest for further action in pursuance of the plan suggested to me in your communication of the 13th ult., but your continued silence,

save your note of April 23, leads me to think that some unexpected obstacle has been interposed. Is the proposed conference abandoned? I trust not, believing that great good may—nay, must result from it. Indeed I deem some such movement to be of the last importance. Without it are we not in danger of disintegration, or a stagnation akin to death? I will assume, however, that the conference is only a question of time.

“You have reasons for not inviting the officers of the Eastern Departments, and of course I yield the point. Do like reasons weigh against inviting those of the Departments of Maryland and the Potomac, especially the latter? Would it not be well to have officers, whose headquarters are at the capitol of the country, in conference with us? I simply query.

“I am, faithfully yours,

“JAMES MCKEAN.”

From the Department of Ohio, General Thomas L. Young, Department Commander of date May 29th, wrote: “I am exceedingly anxious to meet you at Philadelphia, but am afraid that circumstances will prevent my doing so. However, I shall be there if within the possibilities, and at all events I think I shall get Captain Shockley to go. . . . The Order is rapidly growing in Ohio, and by next fall it will be strong enough to be felt for good.”

Similar letters were received from General A. W. Dennison and Colonel Sparhawk, of Maryland; Colonel Lubey, of Washington, D. C.; Colonel Fairleigh, of Kentucky; and others. As I remember now, there were twelve or fifteen

persons in this conference, held at Philadelphia, all Department officers, from some half-dozen or more States. The conference and its results are thus stated in Beath's History:

“A conference of influential members was held in Philadelphia to consider this matter, and the consent of Senior Vice-Commander-in-chief was obtained to a proposition, that he should himself convene the encampment, if another appeal to headquarters should pass unheeded.”

This was the chief purpose of the conference, to have McKean convene the National Encampment, provided National Headquarters refused on application to do so. This was the proposition of the Indiana Department, as the most effective means to the end sought—a reorganization, before the Order should fall into a demoralization from which possible death might ensue.

It was understood we were to await the development of events. General Wagner, of Pennsylvania, was to communicate with National Headquarters, ascertain the true condition of things there, and act accordingly, advising General McKean and the other Departments. In the meantime the dedication of the Soldiers' Home of Indiana claimed our attention. After that great event we again took up the one issue that now seemed to prevail throughout the whole Order—its demoralization and the deposition of its Commander-in-chief.

For information we wrote to General Wagner, and received from him the following reply:

“Headquarters Department of Pennsylvania,  
“Grand Army of the Republic, No. 204 South S,  
“Philadelphia, Sept. 7th, 1867.

“*Major O. M. Wilson, Adjutant-General, Department of Indiana, Grand Army of the Republic, Indianapolis, Ind.*

“Dear Major:—Yours of the 5th inst. is received. I wrote twice to General Hurlbut about that general convention, but have no reply to either letter.

“We in Pennsylvania have voted Army Headquarters, as at present constituted, worse than useless, and endeavor to run our organization in accordance with the spirit of our Constitution without interference from Springfield.

“Nobody seems to know when that general convention will be called, but when it does meet we must put some one at the helm who will give some little attention to the general business of our army. In this rests my only hope for the future usefulness of the Grand Army of the Republic. I should be pleased to hear from you again.

“Your truly,  
“LOUIS WAGNER.”

General Wagner correctly expressed the situation. It was simply impossible to get an answer from National Headquarters to any letter, not only upon this, but upon every other subject. General McKean was in close touch with all the representatives of that conference, and with others whose wishes and feelings were in accord. He was advised to act. He had prepared his order summoning the encampment, when a letter to him, presumably from General Wagner, called a halt. A letter of the same tenor was

received from General Wagner at Indiana Headquarters as follows:

“Unofficial.

“Headquarters Department of Pennsylvania,  
“Grand Army of the Republic,  
“Philadelphia, Nov. 2d, 1867.

“Major O. M. Wilson, Indianapolis, Ind.

“Dear Comrade:—Yours of October 28th received. I think we will get a convention in January; if General Hurlbut don’t call it then, ‘off with his head.’ I write to-day to Stephenson for information as to date, so that we can call State encampment without interfering with the General Convention. I am glad to hear of your success. We are doing equally well.

“Yours truly,

“LOUIS WAGNER.”

Awakened at last to a sense of his duty, the second National Encampment was ordered by General Hurlbut to assemble in Philadelphia on the 15th day of January, 1868. It was composed of 120 delegates. And it was fortunate for the life of the Order that it was held in Philadelphia, the headquarters of and surrounded by other well-organized Departments. Had they waited for their organization upon the first administration of the national body, there would not have been a State represented there. Eleven of those Departments had been started at Pittsburg in September, 1866. The sessions were held in Independence Hall. What little work was done will be mentioned hereafter. General John A. Logan was elected Commander-in-chief, and the Order started again with renewed energy and new blood.

It would seem, when all the facts are considered, that Indiana had again, and for the second time, been chiefly instrumental in preserving the organization. Yet it was at this encampment that men sought to destroy the very principles which had enabled the Department to vivify and sustain the Order.

On the 16th day of September, 1867, District Commanders were requested to meet at Terre Haute on October 2d, at Headquarters Post No. 1, District of Vigo, to consider measures pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the "army"; and on the 9th of October, by General Order, No. 7, upon request of the District Commanders, "a convention of this Department" was called to assemble at Department Headquarters, October 22d, 1867, "to receive and adopt an additional degree for our Order in this Department, . . . and the transaction of such other business that may be brought before the assembly."

The proceedings of this Department Encampment would doubtless to-day be considered an unwarranted interference with the sovereign right of a member of Congress, and an impertinence for the soldier to express his political convictions; nevertheless, Indiana soldiers stood for all these resolutions expressed, and indorsed the plan and policy of the Department at that day. And I venture whether in or out of the Grand Army of the Republic, they endorse to-day every sentiment uttered then.

These proceedings were published and distributed to all the Posts. They were, in part, as follows:

“WHEREAS, By the Act of Congress approved . . . bounties, additional bounties, and pensions were allowed the soldiers and sailors of the army, navy, and marine forces of the United States in the late war for the suppression of treason; and

“WHEREAS, Said bounties, additional bounties, etc., have been passed upon, and allowed by proper authority, but from some cause unknown to us the payment thereof is delayed or withheld from a large number of the soldiers and seamen of the several States, to the great injury of the needy. Therefore,

“*Be It Resolved.* By the Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, in Delegate Convention assembled, that the senators and representatives in Congress from the State of Indiana be requested to inquire into the cause or causes of the delay in the payment of said bounties, additional bounties, etc., and should it appear upon such inquiry that further legislation is necessary to carry into effect the former act of Congress on the subject, we earnestly request that such further legislation may be promptly had as will at once ensure the payment of said bounties without delay.

“In obedience to the foregoing resolutions, the undersigned, a Committee appointed for that purpose, herewith transmit for your information and consideration a copy of said resolutions, and respectfully but urgently request that you will see to it that our comrades are no longer deprived

of the benefits of that which they have so nobly earned, and for which they have sacrificed so much.

“Your obedient servants,

“JOHN N. FRANKLIN,

“LEWIS GROSS,

“F. M. HOWARD,

“R. H. LITSON,

“NATHAN KIMBALL.”

“To Major-General Kimball, Commanding the Department of Indiana, Grand Army of the Republic, and Comrades of the Convention:

“Your Committee on plan and policy, to be adopted by the Army in this Department, respectfully submit the following statement of our policy.

“THEODORE W. MCCOY,

“Chairman.

“WHEREAS, The National Convention of the Grand Army of the Republic, which assembled at the city of Indianapolis, on the 20th day of November, 1866, did, in its resolutions adopted on the 21st day of the same month, declare, in substance, that the Grand Army has a *policy*. Therefore,

“*Be It Resolved*, By the Grand Army of the Republic, of the Department of Indiana, in convention assembled, that the principles declared in the following resolutions are those which were the mainspring of our actions in the past, and by which we are to be governed in the future:

“*Resolved*, 1st, That the Grand Army of the Republic is organized to maintain in civil life those great principles

for which it stood in arms under the National Flag; that it stands pledged to crush out active treason; to advance and support active loyalty; to secure sound constitutional liberty to all men; and to vindicate everywhere, and at all times, the full and complete rights of every loyal American citizen, against all combinations of force or fraud, that may attempt to deny or deprive them of such rights.

*Resolved*, 2d, That we pledge all the power and influence which, as individuals or as an association, we can legitimately wield, in the most especial manner, to those gallant men who stood fast by the country in the hour of its agony, in the rebellious States; and who, through all manner of losses and injuries—persecutions by force and persecutions under color of law—maintained their integrity and vindicated their loyalty; and we solemnly declare that no power that we can use shall be neglected until they are thoroughly and completely protected in the active exercise of every right of American Freemen, through the entire country over which our Flag floats.

*Resolved*, 3d, That as our Government owes its very existence to those who stood faithfully by it in the hour of its peril, its destinies are safe in the same trustworthy hands; and, therefore, loyal men should alone control the affairs of this country.

*Resolved*, 4th, That as the rebels have, by shooting down in cold blood not only soldiers but citizens, whose only offense has been fidelity to the Government, too clearly indicated their policy to be that of unceasing warfare against those who have either directly or indirectly contributed to

the success of our arms, it is the duty of all those in authority to put forth the most strenuous efforts to bring to speedy punishment all those who are implicated in these atrocities, and that those who are interposing obstacles in the way of justice in such cases, are alike the enemies of society and the country.

*Resolved*, 5th, That Congress should, in justice and right, pass a law further equalizing the bounties of soldiers and sailors, and should devise, if possible, some more speedy manner of paying the same.

*Resolved*, 6th, That as the National Debt was necessarily incurred by the General Government in its successful efforts to crush an unholy armed rebellion against its authority, and as the debt was largely increased by the factious opposition of its enemies in the North, who threw every impediment which they could devise in the pathway of the armed forces of the Union, and because it is the price which was paid for the inestimable blessing of civil liberty and the maintenance of the Government, it is a sacred obligation which the nation must not violate, and we stand pledged to oppose every attempt, from whatever source, or in whatever form it may come, to sully the Nation's honor by repudiation.

*Resolved*, 7th, That it is just and right that those who, by their treason, involved the nation in debt, should bear a portion of the burden of payment, and that to secure this end we believe the taxes and tariffs should for the present be equalized and reduced to such an extent as to produce a revenue sufficient only to meet the current expenses of the Government, and pay the interest on the public debt.

ers of said Districts,' the following Commanders are here-with announced:

"I. First District, composed of the counties of Posey, Vanderburg, Warrick, Spencer, Perry, Pike, Gibson, Knox, and Davies; Commander, Comrade H. M. Scott, headquarters, Petersburg, Pike County.

"II. Second District, composed of the counties of Dubois, Crawford, Harrison, Floyd, Clark, Scott, Washington, Orange, Martin, and Jackson; Commander, Comrade George F. Huckleby, headquarters, New Albany, Floyd County.

"III. Third District, composed of the counties of Jefferson, Switzerland, Ohio, Dearborn, Ripley, Jennings, Bartholomew, and Decatur; Commander, R. A. Litson, headquarters, Madison, Jefferson County.

"IV. Fourth District, composed of the counties of Shelby, Rush, Franklin, Union, Fayette, Wayne, and Hancock; Commander, E. H. Wolfe, headquarters, Rushville, Rush County.

"V. Fifth District, composed of the counties of Brown, Morgan, Johnson, Marion, Hendricks, and Putnam; Commander, George F. McGinnis, headquarters, Indianapolis.

"VI. Sixth District, composed of the counties of Sullivan, Greene, Owen, Clay, Vigo, Parke, Vermillion, Monroe, and Lawrence; Commander, T. C. Crawford, headquarters, Terre Haute.

"VII. Seventh District, composed of the counties of Fountain, Montgomery, Boone, Clinton, Tippecanoe, Warren, Benton, and Carroll; Commander, R. H. Milroy, headquarters, Delphi, Carroll County.

“VIII. Eighth District, composed of the counties of Hamilton, Madison, Grant, Tipton, Howard, Miami, Cass, and Wabash; Commander, Wm. O’Brien, headquarters, Noblesville, Hamilton County.

“IX. Ninth District, composed of the counties of Henry, Delaware, Randolph, Jay, Blackford, Wells, Adams, and Allen; Commander, Thomas M. Browne, headquarters, Winchester, Randolph County.

“X. Tenth District, composed of the counties of Kosciusko, Whitley, Huntington, Noble, De Kalb, Steuben, La Grange, and Elkhart; Commander, O. T. Chamberlin, headquarters, Elkhart, Elkhart County.

“XI. Eleventh District, composed of the counties of White, Newton, Jasper, Pulaski, Fulton, Marshall, Starke, St. Joseph, La Porte, Porter, and Lake; Commander, O. S. Witherill, headquarters, South Bend.

“II. All Posts in this Department before they can receive the Department, or second degree, adopted at the State Encampment October 23d, 1867, will have to conform to Article XII., Sec. 2 and Article XIV., Secs. 1 and 2, Constitution Grand Army of the Republic. District Commanders will be held responsible to their District for failing to enforce these provisions in any Post that claims to have a right on the District roster. Posts failing to comply will be reported to headquarters.

“III. No comrade will be permitted to advance to the second degree whose dues are not paid to his Post, and whose position in his Post is not such as to justify his comrades in recommending him for promotion.

“IV. Counties heretofore known as Districts will be classed hereafter as Divisions, and the officers thereof, and of Posts composing the Districts herein designated, will report to their respective District Commanders for further orders.

“V. District Commanders will require the provisions of the Constitution of the Grand Army of the Republic to be strictly enforced, and in all respects comply with the instruction thereof.

“VI. Each District Commander, as soon as possible, will report his organization, its condition and strength, and its wants, and designate what Posts are entitled to receive the Department, or second degree, adopted at the Grand Encampment of this Department, Oct. 24th, 1867.

“By order of

“NATHAN KIMBALL,  
“Commanding Department.

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*”

The above order is given in full. As to the second paragraph, it don't read or sound like any I ever wrote. Had I been asked before reaching it in this writing, if such an order was ever made, or existed, I would have said, emphatically, “No; never was such an order written.” I have no knowledge of any “Department” or “second degree” made by any encampment in Indiana. I never knew or heard of a “Department” degree. If it sprung out of that meeting of District Commanders, and the State Encampment was then called upon to adopt what they did, no record can be found thereof. I never saw such degree administered. And

again, such degree could not have been promulgated as a part of the secret work, unless authorized by the national body, as there was a few years later.

But this "second degree" never took root; no such degree was ever grafted on our system. I cannot explain the existence of this order. At this time, however, there was in the Department a strong political party among the more prominent soldiers in the State. They were preparing for the campaign of 1868, in which the Grand Army, in Indiana, became a potent factor, and carried its favorites into office. It may be this "whilom" "second degree" was created to that end; if so, I have no knowledge of the fact. The official orders of Major O. T. Chamberlin, Commanding 10th District, and Major O. S. Witherill, Commanding 1st District, and the order of General R. H. Milroy, Commanding 7th District, as late as November, 1867, make no mention of the "second degree." There is not a word or letter in my possession having reference to this "degree." I do not remember of ever receiving an inquiry concerning it. I have no knowledge of what it was, what grade or class it sought to establish, as a part of the Department system. If it was anything it was political, which, despite all assertions to the contrary, the Department of Indiana was never found in "innocuous desuetude."

Again, there was no need of a degree. The campaign of 1868 was fought openly. Colonel Conrad Baker was candidate for Governor, and no concealment was made or effected by Grand Army men, when called to rally again around their "Old Commander," General U. S. Grant, for President.

I would not have this order considered a part of the history of our Department. It's a derelict.

Captain James R. Carnahan, who had been from the first in 1866 active as an aide-de-camp in organizing the Order in Tippecanoe County, and elsewhere, would probably, of all other men, have known of such degree, whether in the Encampment or not. He has no such recollection. Under the Department Order of Nov. 1st, 1866, Captain Carnahan was substituted for Captain Stein, who was prevented from serving by reason of professional duties. As District Commander, Carnahan became the mascot of the soldier. He quickened the energies of the "boys" and roused in them an enthusiasm for the organization. Eight strong Posts were established in his county, chiefly the result of his work. He was sent as a delegate to the first National Encampment in November, 1866, and there his methods and practical knowledge found ready support in the work of that Encampment. Through all our campaigns in 1866, 1868, and 1870, his skill, energy, and zeal in organization greatly contributed to the success of the organization itself, and the Grand Army felt this upheaval not only in our own State, but elsewhere. His career in the Grand Army in those days was the primer work for his after life. His genius and magnetic touch with the "boys" carried him beyond the limits of our State, from a Department aide to that in after years of Inspector-General, and then for two terms as Judge Advocate-General on the National Staff—under the reorganization, and later to the position of Department Commander of our State, to which position

he was re-elected by the unanimous vote of the Encampment. He was also made Provisional Department Commander of Tennessee and Kentucky upon the reorganization of the Order. He has also honored himself, as well as the Order, as the author of a ~~National~~ Digest of the opinions and rulings of the Judge ~~Advocates~~-General of the Order. For this work of labor, and doubtless love, he never received any compensation, even for expenditures made—another instance of the national organization taking and using something without remuneration, but charging for everything it produces—or produced at that period. This digest was not only approved and adopted by the National Encampment at Denver, but it became the foundation-stone upon which ex-Commander-in-chief Beath built his “Blue Book,” or what is or was called the “History of the Grand Army of the Republic.”

It is a pleasure to speak of my old comrade and associate in this Order, now known as General Carnahan, he having obtained the commission and rank of Brigadier-General, as Adjutant-General of Indiana, and Commander of the National Guard of the State, and thus allude to his services as an aide in our first organization of the Grand Army, for it was then and there as an organizer of bodies of men, he started at the first round in the ladder, and to-day stands at the pinnacle, the Supreme Commander of one of the greatest brotherhoods in America.

A man, therefore, of Carnahan’s taste for degree work would have had some knowledge of a degree, if any such had been introduced in our State, as this General Order,

No. 8, contemplated, and because of his want of any knowledge of such degree, its mention in this General Order is simply intensified and deepened in mystery.

Many other comrades who gave their time and energies to the organization in those years rose to distinction and fame, but have since crossed the Great Redoubt, and re-united with the "boys," whose immortality was won on the battlefield. Others are left—a few—to close up the ranks, with their faces to the front, only waiting for the last muster and "Taps."

It was left to General Foster to command in the great campaign of 1868, when he was again brought to the front by the second annual Encampment of the Department on January 29th, 1868, and elected Department Commander. Great interest was taken in the Order at this time. It had become strong and forceful. Its influence was felt throughout the State, sufficiently so to provoke rivalry and struggle for position in its ranks. But I never heard it charged that the Grand Army was being used for any one person's political aggrandizement. General Foster's first "General Order" soon brought all members together in generous, friendly rivalry.

The Order follows:

"Headquarters Department of Indiana,  
"Grand Army of the Republic,  
"Adjutant-General's Office,  
"Indianapolis, Ind., January 30th, 1868.

"General Orders, No. 1, 3d S.

"I. By virtue of an election in convention assembled at Indianapolis, January 29th, 1868, in pursuance of Gen-

eral Orders, No. 9, 2d Series, dated January 11th, 1868, I hereby assume command of this Department.

“II. Our fellowship in the “Grand Army of the Republic” can only be perpetuated by an earnest and sincere co-operation, individually, and as Posts, with the efforts of your officers, chosen by yourselves in this great Brotherhood, and your Grand Commander asks that whatever will direct the prosperity and advancement of the interests of the Grand Army be willingly and cheerfully accorded.

“III. The Adjutant-General having, by the late National Convention convened at Philadelphia, Pa., January 15th, 1868, been made an officer to be appointed by the Grand Commander, such officer is herewith announced, with the “Staff” elected by the Convention of this Department, on January 29th, 1868:

“Senior Vice Grand Commander: Major-General Charles Craft, Terre Haute.

“Junior Vice Grand Commander: Colonel George Humphrey, Fort Wayne.

“Inspector-General: General Thos. W. Bennett, Liberty.

“Quartermaster-General: Colonel Samuel Merrill, Indianapolis.

“Surgeon-General: Dr. L. D. Waterman, Indianapolis.

“Grand Chaplain: Rev. L. H. Jamieson, Indianapolis.

“IV. Adjutant-General: Major O. M. Wilson, Indianapolis.

“By direction of the Constitution of the “Grand Army,” they will be respected and obeyed accordingly.

“R. S. FOSTER,

“Official.”

“Commanding Department.

The character and influence of the Order at this time, in Indiana, may be judged by the prominence of the men chosen for the "Grand Council." They were active, especially as counselors, and were in close fellowship with headquarters. The year 1868 produced the closest and hardest struggle to retain the supremacy of the soldier, politically speaking, that Indiana had ever experienced. Though National and State candidates were soldiers, it is a fact that a certain class turned aside—chiefly from local influences, personal dislikes produced by national issues—distrustful as well as jealous of the soldier, whom this class charged as an excuse for their conduct, with a desire on his part to appropriate the offices, and thus militarize the Government.

To be sure, the soldiers generally lined up with the Republican party, because they were intelligent and were not to be influenced by evil counsels against a party which they knew had sustained, and would in the future carry out from principle every pledge made them during the war. At the same time, it may as well be admitted, we had to carry on our fight absolutely against the dictation of a certain line to pursue, dictated from National Headquarters, which, if adopted, would have been our disintegration, as I shall notice hereafter. However, it may be mentioned here that we won, though by a bare majority, electing Colonel Conrad Baker governor.

General Order, No. 2, 3d Series, dated January 30th, 1868, which follows, anticipated this campaign. There was no attempt made to conceal the positive fact that, while we

advocated and asserted charity as a cardinal tenet of the Order, we practiced fraternity and politics, and so long as the soldiers themselves made no protest—and the rule has ever been and is observed to this day—there was no moral or legal obligation to prevent the exercise of the sovereign right in him to avow and execute his own will in whatever way he thought best. The election, then, was held in October, and I merely mention in passing, if any soldier votes were lost it was because the soldier was out of the State.

The order follows:

“I. The Grand Council of Administration, elected by the convention of this Department, January 29th, 1868, and the Executive Committee, chosen at the same time and place, are herewith announced for the information of this Department:

Nathan Kimball, Indianapolis.

Walter Q. Gresham, New Albany.

George W. Lambert, Terre Haute.

John R. Cravens, Madison.

Thomas M. Browne, Winchester.

“II. Executive Committee:

“First Congressional District: Wm. F. Wood, Rockport.

“Second Congressional District: W. Q. Gresham, New Albany.

“Third Congressional District: M. C. Garber, Madison.

“Fourth Congressional District: W. W. Dudley, Centerville.

“Fifth Congressional District: E. F. Ritter, Indianapolis.

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“Fifth Congressional District: E. F. Ritter, Indianapolis.

“Sixth Congressional District: F. C. Crawford, Terre Haute.

“Seventh Congressional District: A. O. Behm, Lafayette.

“Eighth Congressional District: James Pratt, Logansport.

“Ninth Congressional District: Samuel A. Kelsey, Knightstown.

“Tenth Congressional District: O. T. Chamberlin, Elkhart.

“Eleventh Congressional District: H. S. Foote, Crawfordsville.

“By order of

“R. S. FOSTER,  
*“Department Commander.*

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*”

The Honorable A. H. Conner was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in this year. He was a leader of men—magnetic, resourceful, an engine of energy, true to his friends and his party, and fearless in the right. With him Department Headquarters was in close touch, and many days and nights the “boys” were in the saddle, moving upon some outpost of the enemy, that had been unmasked by Conner.

The strength of the Department on May 1st, 1868, may be judged from the General Orders, No. 4, 3d Series, which may be likened to a Commander unmasking his batteries and deploying his column in line of battle.

“I. The division of a Department into Districts having been abolished by the National Convention convened at Philadelphia, Pa., January 15th, 1868, District Commanders are herewith relieved from duty in their respective Districts.

“II. General Order, No. —, dated Headquarters Grand Army of the Republic, Washington, D. C., February, 1868, directing that all Posts in every Department be classified in numerical order, according to the date of their organization, the following numbered Posts are herewith arranged accordingly, and will hereafter be known by the number herein designated.”

[The list of Posts that follows was prepared from reports received at Department Headquarters in response to paragraph 5 of Department Orders, No. 3, 3d Series, dated Feb. 6th, 1868, long before National Orders, so directing, were received. I think the suggestion went from Indiana Department. We found it necessary to unwind, and we had some correspondence with General Logan on the question. Paragraph 5 was as follows: “Each Post will forward to these headquarters a roster of its officers elected for the ensuing term, together with a full list of members belonging to the Post. Communications will henceforth be addressed to Encampment officers. Changes occurring among officers in Posts will be promptly reported to Department Headquarters, that no error may be made in addressing the proper officer.” The Department roster showing the date of muster, the active Posts were easily numbered. Many weaker Posts, failing to meet a “special” assessment and

the additional “per capita” tax, failed to report, and thus lost their place on the roster. It was found, eventually, to their advantage, for they consolidated with some other Post in their county, and by thus merging their fellowship, became more effective and useful. The stronger and remaining Posts were thus classified, some of which were not the first organized in a county.]

Post No. 1, Floyd County, will be known as Post No. 1.

Post No. 1, Clark County, will be known as Post No. 2.

Post No. 1, Washington County, will be known as Post No. 3.

Post No. 1, Harrison County, will be known as Post No. 4.

Post No. 1, Knox County, will be known as Post No. 5.

Post No. 1, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 6.

Post No. 1, Vigo County, will be known as Post No. 7.

Post No. 1, Bartholomew County, will be known as Post No. 8.

Post No. 1, Johnson County, will be known as Post No. 9.

Post No. 2, Johnson County, will be known as Post No. 10.

Post No. 1, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 11.

Post No. 1, Kosciusko County, will be known as Post No. 12.

Post No. 1, Fountain County, will be known as Post No. 13.

Post No. 1, Ripley County, will be known as Post No. 14.

Post No. 1, Vanderburg County, will be known as Post No. 15.

Post No. 1, Dearborn County, will be known as Post No. 16.

Post No. 1, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 17.

Post No. 1, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 18.

Post No. 1, Boone County, will be known as Post No. 19.

Post No. 2, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 20.

Post No. 1, Miami County, will be known as Post No. 21.

Post No. 1, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 22.

Post No. 1, Wayne County, will be known as Post No. 23.

Post No. 1, Allen County, will be known as Post No. 24.

Post No. 1, Clay County, will be known as Post No. 25.

Post No. 3, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 26.

Post No. 1, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 27.

Post No. 1, Switzerland County, will be known as Post No. 28.

Post No. 1, Howard County, will be known as Post No. 29.

Post No. 1, Marshall County, will be known as Post No. 30.

Post No. 1, Union County, will be known as Post No. 31.

Post No. 1, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 32.

Post No. 2, Wayne County, will be known as Post No. 33.

Post No. 1, Elkhart County, will be known as Post No. 34.

Post No. 2, Switzerland County, will be known as Post No. 35.

Post No. 2, Dearborn County, will be known as Post No. 36.

Post No. 1, Monroe County, will be known as Post No. 37.

Post No. 4, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 38.

Post No. 1, Jefferson County, will be known as Post No. 39.

Post No. 1, Madison County, will be known as Post No. 40.

Post No. 2, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 41.

Post No. 1, Warren County, will be known as Post No. 42.

Post No. 1, Clay County, will be known as Post No. 43.

Post No. 1, Grant County, will be known as Post No. 44.

Post No. 2, Jefferson County, will be known as Post No. 45.

Post No. 3, Johnson County, will be known as Post No. 46.

Post No. 2, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 47.

Post No. 1, Vermillion County, will be known as Post No. 48.

Post No. 3, Dearborn County, will be known as Post No. 49.

Post No. 4, Johnson County, will be known as Post No. 50.

Post No. 2, Kosciusko County, will be known as Post No. 51.

Post No. 1, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 52.

Post No. 2, Boone County, will be known as Post No. 53.

Post No. 3, Boone County, will be known as Post No. 54.

Post No. 2, Fountain County, will be known as Post No. 55.

Post No. 1, Hamilton County, will be known as Post No. 56.

Post No. 1, Noble County, will be known as Post No. 57.

Post No. 1, Jay County, will be known as Post No. 58.

Post No. 1, Montgomery County, will be known as Post No. 59.

Post No. 2, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 60.

Post No. 1, Whitley County, will be known as Post No. 61.

Post No. 3, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 62.

Post No. 2, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 63.

Post No. 4, Boone County, will be known as Post No. 64.

Post No. 2, Montgomery County, will be known as Post No. 65.

Post No. 1, Putnam County, will be known as Post No. 66.

Post No. 2, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 67.

Post No. 2, Warren County, will be known as Post No. 68.

Post No. 1, Cass County, will be known as Post No. 69.

Post No. 1, Jennings County, will be known as Post No. 70.

Post No. 4, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 71.

Post No. 2, Allen County, will be known as Post No. 72.

Post No. 5, Boone County, will be known as Post No. 73.

Post No. 1, Fayette County, will be known as Post No. 74.

Post No. 1, Lawrence County, will be known as Post No. 75.

Post No. 5, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 76.

Post No. 3, Kosciusko County, will be known as Post No. 77.

Post No. 2, Lawrence County, will be known as Post No. 78.

Post No. 1, Clinton County, will be known as Post No. 79.

Post No. 2, Clinton County, will be known as Post No. 80.

Post No. 1, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 81.

Post No. 1, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 82.

Post No. 2, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 83.

Post No. 3, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 84.

Post No. 1, La Porte County, will be known as Post No. 85.

Post No. 5, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 86.

Post No. 2, Bartholomew County, will be known as Post No. 87.

Post No. 1, Carroll County, will be known as Post No. 88.

Post No. 2, Elkhart County, will be known as Post No. 89.

Post No. 1, Henry County, will be known as Post No. 90.

Post No. 2, Henry County, will be known as Post No. 91.

Post No. 1, Jackson County, will be known as Post No. 92.

Post No. 2, Jay County, will be known as Post No. 93.

Post No. 5, Johnson County, will be known as Post No. 94.

Post No. 4, Kosciusko County, will be known as Post No. 95.

Post No. 1, Lake County, will be known as Post No. 96.

Post No. 2, Lake County, will be known as Post No. 97.

Post No. 2, Miami County, will be known as Post No. 98.

Post No. 3, Montgomery County, will be known as Post No. 99.

Post No. 4, Montgomery County, will be known as Post No. 100.

Post No. 3, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 101.

Post No. 1, Randolph County, will be known as Post No. 102.

Post No. 2, Randolph County, will be known as Post No. 103.

Post No. 3, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 104.

Post No. 4, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 105.

Post No. 2, Vigo County, will be known as Post No. 106.

Post No. 2, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 107.

Post No. 1, Decatur County, will be known as Post No. 108.

Post No. 6, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 109.

Post No. 3, Lake County, will be known as Post No. 110.

Post No. 3, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 111.

Post No. 3, Wayne County, will be known as Post No. 112.

Post No. 1, De Kalb County, will be known as Post No. 113.

Post No. 2, Madison County, will be known as Post No. 114.

Post No. 2, Monroe County, will be known as Post No. 115.

Post No. 1, Posey County, will be known as Post No. 116.

Post No. 4, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 117.

Post No. 5, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 118.

Post No. 3, Vigo County, will be known as Post No. 119.

Post No. 2, Grant County, will be known as Post No. 120.

Post No. 6, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 121.

Post No. 4, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 122.

Post No. 7, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 123.

Post No. 2, Fayette County, will be known as Post No. 124.

Post No. 2, Carroll County, will be known as Post No. 125.

Post No. 1, Franklin County, will be known as Post No. 126.

Post No. 2, Whitley County, will be known as Post No. 127.

Post No. 3, Switzerland County, will be known as Post No. 128.

Post No. 3, Grant County, will be known as Post No. 129.

Post No. 1, Hancock County, will be known as Post No. 130.

Post No. 3, Clay County, will be known as Post No. 131.

Post No. 3, Carroll County, will be known as Post No. 132.

Post No. 3, Fountain County, will be known as Post No. 133.

Post No. 5, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 134.

Post No. 8, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 135.

Post No. 2, Ripley County, will be known as Post No. 136.

Post No. 3, Allen County, will be known as Post No. 137.

Post No. 9, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 138.

Post No. 2, Marshall County, will be known as Post No. 139.

Post No. 3, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 140.

Post No. 3, Miami County, will be known as Post No. 141.

Post No. 10, Marion County, will be known as Post No. 142.

Post No. 3, Clinton County, will be known as Post No. 143.

Post No. 2, Posey County, will be known as Post No. 144.

Post No. 2, Hamilton County, will be known as Post No. 145.

Post No. 1, Warrick County, will be known as Post No. 146.

Post No. 2, La Porte County, will be known as Post No. 147.

Post No. 1, Fulton County, will be known as Post No. 148.

Post No. 3, Jefferson County, will be known as Post No. 149.

Post No. 4, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 150.

Post No. 5, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 151.

Post No. 4, Wayne County, will be known as Post No. 152.

Post No. 4, Jefferson County, will be known as Post No. 153.

Post No. 3, Hamilton County, will be known as Post No. 154.

Post No. 2, Hancock County, will be known as Post No. 155.

Post No. 2, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 156.

Post No. 2, Putnam County, will be known as Post No. 157.

Post No. 4, Lake County, will be known as Post No. 158.

Post No. 1, Perry County, will be known as Post No. 159.

Post No. 2, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 160.

Post No. 3, Warren County, will be known as Post No. 161.

Post No. 3, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 162.

Post No. 1, Scott County, will be known as Post No. 163.

Post No. 3, Posey County, will be known as Post No. 164.

Post No. 3, Putnam County, will be known as Post No. 165.

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Post No. 6, Shelby County, will be known as Post No. 166.

Post No. 7, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 167.

Post No. 3, Whitley County, will be known as Post No. 168.

Post No. 4, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 169.

Post No. 3, La Porte County, will be known as Post No. 170.

Post No. 3, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 171.

Post No. 3, Hancock County, will be known as Post No. 172.

Post No. 2, Jennings County, will be known as Post No. 173.

Post No. 5, Lake County, will be known as Post No. 174.

Post No. 2, Perry County, will be known as Post No. 175.

Post No. 1, Rush County, will be known as Post No. 176.

Post No. 4, Vigo County, will be known as Post No. 177.

Post No. 5, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 178.

Post No. 4, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 179.

Post No. 5, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 180.

Post No. 4, Miami County, will be known as Post No. 181.

Post No. 2, Scott County, will be known as Post No. 182.

Post No. 3, Fayette County, will be known as Post No. 183.

Post No. 6, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 184.

Post No. 6, Parke County, will be known as Post No. 185.

Post No. 2, Washington County, will be known as Post No. 186.

Post No. 4, Hancock County, will be known as Post No. 187.

Post No. 1, Owen County, will be known as Post No. 188.

Post No. 1, Spencer County, will be known as Post No. 189.

Post No. 1, White County, will be known as Post No. 190.

Post No. 2, White County, will be known as Post No. 191.

Post No. 3, Washington County, will be known as Post No. 192.

Post No. 4, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 193.

Post No. 1, Porter County, will be known as Post No. 194.

Post No. 3, Jay County, will be known as Post No. 195.

Post No. 5, Vigo County, will be known as Post No. 196.

Post No. 5, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 197.

Post No. 2, Porter County, will be known as Post No. 198.

Post No. 3, White County, will be known as Post No. 199.

Post No. 7, Shelby, County, will be known as Post No. 200.

Post No. 2, Cass County, will be known as Post No. 201.

Post No. 1, Martin County, will be known as Post No. 202.

Post No. 6, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 203.

Post No. 4, Washington County, will be known as Post No. 204.

Post No. 2, Rush County, will be known as Post No. 205.

Post No. 2, Franklin County, will be known as Post No. 206.

Post No. 3, Rush County, will be known as Post No. 207.

Post No. 2, Howard County, will be known as Post No. 208.

Post No. 3, Elkhart County, will be known as Post No. 209.

Post No. 3, Howard County, will be known as Post No. 210.

Post No. 1, Steuben County, will be known as Post No. 211.

Post No. 1, Greene County, will be known as Post No. 212.

Post No. 1, Gibson County, will be known as Post No. 213.

Post No. 3, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 214.

Post No. 4, Clay County, will be known as Post No. 215.

Post No. 3, Scott County, will be known as Post No. 216.

Post No. 4, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 217.

Post No. 4, Clinton County, will be known as Post No. 218.

Post No. 5, Jefferson County, will be known as Post No. 219.

Post No. 5, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 220.

Post No. 2, Spencer County, will be known as Post No. 221.

Post No. 7, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 222.

Post No. 2, Noble County, will be known as Post No. 223.

Post No. 8, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 224.

Post No. 6, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 225.

Post No. 2, Vermillion County, will be known as Post No. 226.

Post No. 1, Jasper County, will be known as Post No. 227.

Post No. 4, White County, will be known as Post No. 228.

Post No. 3, Randolph County, will be known as Post No. 229.

Post No. 4, Putnam County, will be known as Post No. 230.

Post No. 5, Putnam County, will be known as Post No. 231.

Post No. 9, Morgan County, will be known as Post No. 232.

Post No. 5, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 233.

Post No. 5, Montgomery County, will be known as Post No. 234.

Post No. 3, Henry County, will be known as Post No. 235.

Post No. 6, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 236.

Post No. 7, Hendricks County, will be known as Post No. 237.

Post No. 3, Spencer County, will be known as Post No. 238.

Post No. 4, Carroll County, will be known as Post No. 239.

Post No. 4, Rush County, will be known as Post No. 240.

Post No. 7, St. Joseph County, will be known as Post No. 241.

Post No. 1, Huntington County, will be known as Post No. 242.

Post No. 1, Pike County, will be known as Post No. 243.

Post No. 5, Clay County, will be known as Post No. 244.

Post No. 3, Perry County, will be known as Post No. 245.

Post No. 1, Pulaski County, will be known as Post No. 246.

Post No. 7, Sullivan County, will be known as Post No. 247.

Post No. 4, Dearborn County, will be known as Post No. 248.

Post No. 4, Fountain County, will be known as Post No. 249.

Post No. 4, Randolph County, will be known as Post No. 250.

Post No. 2, Gibson County, will be known as Post No. 251.

Post No. 1, Stark County, will be known as Post No. 252.

Post No. 2, Owen County, will be known as Post No. 253.

Post No. 6, Delaware County, will be known as Post No. 254.

Post No. 2, Greene County, will be known as Post No. 255.

Post No. 4, Posey County, will be known as Post No. 256.

Post No. 3, Gibson County, will be known as Post No. 257.

Post No. 2, Pike County, will be known as Post No. 258.

Post No. 5, Wayne County, will be known as Post No. 259.

Post No. 3, Pike County, will be known as Post No. 260.

Post No. 6, Wabash County, will be known as Post No. 261.

Post No. 4, Henry County, will be known as Post No. 262.

Post No. 5, Henry County, will be known as Post No. 263.

Post No. 8, Tippecanoe County, will be known as Post No. 264.

Post No. 2, Decatur County, will be known as Post No. 265.

Post No. 2, Knox County, will be known as Post No. 266.

Post No. 4, Elkhart County, will be known as Post No. 267.

Post No. 4, Hamilton County, will be known as Post No. 268.

Post No. 2, Steuben County, will be known as Post No. 269.

The discriminating mind will not fail to discover the tendency of loosening the girth of District Commanders, and making every Post a potentiality and independent factor; nor will it fail to comprehend the impetus this number of Posts gave to the campaign. It was hard for the soldier at that day to resist the fellowship of his comrades. If he was not in active co-operation, he was in sympathy with him, and only when other elements of organization, called principles of government, were brought into the Order, did he hesitate and finally withdraw, or step aside from participation. Let no unkind word criticise the Grand Army of that day. It was *organized for the soldier*, and in every way it could be wrought for his good and promotion, there was a fitting acquiescence in directing it to such consummation. It was no Young Men's Christian Association. It was no prayer-meeting entertainment. It was a fellowship of Veterans. Whatever there was, was not too good for him. He carried with him that old habit of "getting there." If what he wanted did not lie before him, or come to him, he went after it. And if, in later years, he preferred other ways of pursuit in comradeship, if increasing years tempered his ardor, and he chose the methods of ceremony and piety to preserve in memory the fellowships formed in army life, it should not be said the organization was wrong then, and right now. It was right then, because he made it so. Nor

was he arraigned for believing so. He simply exercised the right declared to exist. He didn't say one thing and mean another. Later events proved the error in adopting new methods, by which the old should be destroyed, in so doing eliminating him as a factor in the very government he had made it possible to enjoy.

The average strength of these Posts was probably 100. What I would call a sympathetic membership was probably three to five times greater. When it is considered, therefore, that within a year this great influence disappeared to almost become a memory, it must be understood that only some grave act was done in violence of his prerogative as a soldier to enjoy in this organization, antagonizing the original plan upon which he entered it.

These causes I shall now consider.

1 An additional paragraph of this order, in obedience to an order of the Philadelphia National Encampment of January 15, 1868, required an assessment of one dollar upon each Post, and in addition thereto the assessment of ten cents per member carried on the rolls. At this distance of time it seems strange that such action should be recommended by our own Past Department Commander, General Kimball, a delegate in that Encampment. It was accepted at the time with the declaration that such means was the only salvation of the Order. But this action was not generally approved in the Department. It was the first step towards our dissolution. The Department of Indiana had not only sustained itself, but helped others. We were not insensible to our obligations to the National organization, but

just at this time to be called upon to pay for something from which we had derived no benefit was more than we felt justly bound to ask our comrades to do.

Nevertheless the "order" went out with misgivings, and in order to sweeten it, so much of General Order, No. 6, dated Washington, February 18, 1868, went out with it, as follows:

"I. It is the earnest desire of the Commander-in-chief to have the Grand Army of the Republic on a strong working basis at the earliest moment possible. No similar organization in this or any other country ever espoused nobler purposes or possessed greater power for good.

"Previous military experience has taught the value of consolidated effort. Discipline lies at the foundation of all enterprises which look for their success to the co-operation of individuals scattered over large territory. Orders must be promptly obeyed, and the rules and regulations strictly enforced, if we are to hope for any good to result from our efforts. No comrade can have studied the object which we seek to attain without having perceived many ways in which by a trifling labor or contribution from each, great good can be accomplished. But all effort is futile until our organization is perfected, and our strength concentrated into one harmonious body working as a single person.

"To effect an early and efficient consolidation of the Order is the first object sought by the Commander-in-chief, and this done he will then have some plans to submit, which it is believed will elicit not only the approval of comrades everywhere, but will compel the admiration of those who

now regard the Order with distrust, or look upon it as ephemeral, and a thing of but a day. All communications sent to these headquarters pertaining to the business of the Grand Army must come through the ordinary channels."

' This appeal came more like a moan, but appeal it was, for the condition of the Order required strong persuasion to hold it to the lines drawn at Philadelphia. But the real purpose of this order was never brought to the surface. The fine hand of Chipman, Logan's Adjutant-General, is seen in this order. To be sure, there was much to anticipate from "united effort," and "concentrated strength," but what he meant by "consolidation of the Order" no one knew. There was nothing to consolidate it with. The inducement offered of some great plans being conceived for the glorification of the comrade, some sensational *coup d'état*, which he would behold in awe and admiration, never materialized. The "order" itself at this time was an enigma, because in no sense was a sentiment required to stimulate Grand Army men generally to action, and we did not accept the inferences of the "order" as justifiable by any means.

' The idea of introducing an iron rule of "discipline" by subjecting members to a military code of ethics, exacting prompt obedience under an implied threat of dismemberment, was carrying the rule of authority to extremes—sufficiently, at least, to lead many to declare the time had gone by for any such pomp and parade for men, whose lives had been beaten in the crucible of war, to give their approval to any such observance, which neither true fellowship nor the natural laws of companionship required from them.

The mere act of transmitting these orders to the several Posts provoked the thought that the Department was becoming imperious; that we were willingly encouraging a spirit of military rule that every soldier was glad to escape from when mustered out of service. Because it was the duty of the Department to aid in the execution and enforcement of all orders from National Headquarters—in almost every case reluctantly done—there were those who did not hesitate to censure Department Headquarters for its seeming concurrence with the spirit of the order. And because, as Adjutant-General of the Department, I always sought to mollify or have revoked some part, or the entire order—that one notably “dishonorably discharging members”—I was given to understand from National Headquarters the “order must be obeyed.”

General Foster did not like the idea of creating a dictatorship in the Grand Army, and did not affect to conceal his disapproval of the spirit shown to create a kind of military aristocracy, or cabal of martinets. The spirit of resistance to the letter and spirit of these orders met with no other remonstrance from Department Headquarters, for the simple reason that, as organized, we were not prepared for such exactions and tribute.

When that Philadelphia Encampment pretended to amend the rules and regulations, the proper thing to have done would have been to submit such work to the different Departments for ratification or rejection. Instead, one hundred and twenty men presumed to act and change the very law that gave the organization existence; to take from its

members vested rights in the Order. They could not legally exercise such power. They did not represent the entire Order. The work they did was to destroy. Their assumption of arbitrary rule and power, as if a soldier's membership was a boon by *their* grace, not by having fought his country's battles, was enough to awaken contempt for and quicken their exit from the Grand Army of the Republic—which it did. It mattered not whether he had come out of the war with an empty sleeve, a companionless leg, or a diseased body, if he didn't come up to their standard of what he ought to *do* and *be* in the *Grand Army*, he was unfit to be regarded as an honorable soldier, and he was to be so posted.

I speak from the record: In General Order, No. 8, dated February 29th, 1868, National Headquarters, the Commander-in-chief promulgated the following “revised regulations of the Order”: “The name of a dishonorably discharged member shall be forwarded to the Headquarters of the Army, through the proper channel, for the information and guidance of the several Posts throughout the United States.”

This was the revision made at Philadelphia January, 1868. It will be seen that the above Posts of the Indiana Department were organized prior to this revision, and under the original first Constitution. This provision, therefore, was another step towards our disintegration, for the simple reason that we saw no reason to so stigmatize our comrades after we had invited them into fellowship.

The Grand Army men of Indiana never sought to conceal their political affinities. They helped a comrade as wil-

lingly outside as within the Order, whatever his politics. They saw no reason to justify the prescription of a comrade just because he could not sustain his membership with them. We were not in favor of delivering our principles to the debasement of a comrade, by publishing him over the United States as unworthy, *not from service in the war*, but for some *whim* or *caprice* of a few men, who would have him conform to certain sentimental notions of fellowship. We refused to forward such names. Further, we refused to sanction the "discharge" of comrades for the causes prescribed. If any names were sent to Department Headquarters, they never got any further, and no action was taken on them.

It is not worth the time to argue that the Grand Army was not at this time political. It was, and the country knew it. Its declaration of principles, Article 1., Sec. 2, par. 5, reads: "For the establishment and defense of the late soldiers and sailors of the United States, morally, socially, and *politically*, with a view to inculcate a proper appreciation of their service to the country and to the recognition of such services and claims by the American people." It was under this Constitution we were organized, and nowhere in this instrument was any such power given as these General Orders contained. And at this Philadelphia Encampment, with the results of the campaign of 1866 before them, and the strength of the Order in the larger States at that time; they sought to change this declaration of principles. It was a stormy, violent session, one side claiming the organization should remain as it was, avowedly political;

the other declaring that polities had destroyed its influence in the West, which the facts show was false, so far as Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana were concerned. And other States might be mentioned. Out of this contention came this declaration, "that this association does not design to make nominations for office, or to use its influence as a secret organization for partisan purposes." Nevertheless it was a "rose," and it smelt just as sweet, with this deceitful, shambling declaration.

It was the opinion of our delegates, Generals John Coburn, H. D. Washburn, Morton C. Hunter, and J. P. C. Shanks, that but for the incautious expression concerning the West by General Dan Sickles, he would have been elected Commander-in-chief, instead of Logan.

General Coburn, writing to me later, says: "It is hard to say whether this is better than to try and keep it out entirely. There are precious few copperheads in the Grand Army, and perhaps it may be made more efficient by hoisting the flag and making a square fight as political soldiers.

. . . . The Grand Army is a flank movement, in my judgment, and should have been so conducted, but our friends thought it best to put it at the head of the column, and with it attempt to storm the enemy's works. To fail now in this shape is a final disaster, and not easily retrieved."

Out of this Encampment came Logan, and from Logan came these orders. Also a revised Ritual.

Additional paragraphs from orders of National Headquarters were promulgated in General Foster's General Order, No. 4, May 1st, 1868: that of April 9th reporting

decisions as to eligibility to membership, advising caution as to admission of members, the doctrine of "once a comrade always a comrade," "suspension of members, disbanded Posts, and their restoration"; of April 13, as to rejection of candidates, and decisions thereon for restoration, and the matter of dues. Posts were advised that, failing to report on any of these requirements would have to be reported to National Headquarters—which I do not think was ever done, as to all the requirements.

It was certainly thought at the time that conditions of environment were different in Indiana than elsewhere, and for this reason, among others, our comrades did not want to be handicapped by officialism and too much "red tape." They were intelligent and *very* loyal, and no power on earth could suppress them in declaring their political affiliation and determination to combat disloyalty in any guise. Had we been organized as a purely moral and charitable organization, we would probably have gone and "labored" with these erring brethren, but as party organization was the only means now of preventing rebel ascendancy, the soldiers went to that party. In the field they fought best organized, and with "less Chaplain," so they naturally preferred organization at this time to sustain the same party that stood by them in war; and it required no second appeal "to arms" for them to rally when they read the following additional paragraph 11, of General Foster's General Order, No. 4:

"XI. The attention of soldiers throughout this Department is called to an organization in the State known as and called the '*Union White Boys in Blue.*' This society is more

than it pretends to be. Its influence is pernicious, and its designs are believed to be to restore rebels to power and demand for the South full reparation for all damages occasioned by the war, and if it can, to compel the Nation to pay the rebel debt, but first to repudiate our own national debt. It invites to its membership all soldiers opposed to the National Congress and the lawful government of the United States. Its leaders are politicians whose ambition has been defeated in their efforts to reduce the Republic to a condition of anarchy, to disrupt the Nation, to secure foreign intervention, to effect our national destruction and dis-honor, and to overthrow the government by conspiracy and treason. Failing in all this, they now seek to mislead the unwary by epithets and denunciations of everything that went to restore the Union, and with glozing tongue and supple morality they embellish the dogmas of their party with extenuations and justifications for the 'lost cause,' and justify the barbarous cruelties of Andersonville prison pen. The soldiers of Indiana who yet revere the memory of their fallen comrades cannot affiliate with this class of soldiers and citizens who proclaim themselves loyal, but who have 'stolen the livery of heaven to serve the devil in.'"

At this time I know it was thought that no organization was too good in Indiana to have a little politics in it. It would have been pardoned in Holy Writ. The confidence felt that the Grand Army would "take care of these fellows"—as we did—was very satisfying.

Every National Order now seemed incomplete without a long list of "rejected candidates of the Grand Army of

the Republic" and names of those "dishonorably discharged," the former without reason assigned. Among the many thousand I find only six from Indiana: four from Post 72 and two from Post 275, sent direct, presumably, from Post to National Headquarters.

The chief event marking General Logan's first administration, and which indelibly connects his name with the Grand Army, and retrieves it from many mistakes of his staff, was his General Order, No. 11, dated Washington, May 5th, 1868, directing the observance of May 30th "for the purpose of strewing with flowers or otherwise decorating the graves of comrades who died in defense of their country during the late rebellion."

This order was sacredly observed by the Department of Indiana.

In communicating by General Order, No. 5, 3d Series, dated Sept. 21st, 1868, the several National Orders received from June 22d, 1868, sufficiently indicate that the inevitable was approaching: "Where it is found possible for Posfs to comply with these sections, the facts will be so reported, and directions will then be given enabling them to be placed again upon the Department roster. Comrades will fully understand that where a Post is carried on the Department roster, it must be reported to National Headquarters as an active Post, as this Department will be held responsible for the percentage of dues from that Post. Non-active Posts are not reported."

"Posts failing to comply with the provisions of the above sections of General Order, No. 4, 3d Series, . . . within

ten days after the end of the present quarter, Sept. 3d, will be dropped from the roster at these headquarters, and reported to National Headquarters, by order of the Commander-in-chief."

It may be noticed here that many Posts made an effort, and some succeeded, under the above admonition to reorganize: notably, No. 1, Jay County; No. 4, Randolph County; No. 2, Elkhart County; No. 4, Hancock County; No. 1, Gibson County; No. 1, Hamilton County; No. 3, Rush County; No. 1, Henry County; No. 1, Union County; No. 7, Morgan County; No. 1, Monroe County; No. 3, Elkhart County; No. 1, Vigo County; No. 3, Gibson County; No. 1, Pike County; No. 1, Knox County; No. 5, Sullivan County; No. 1, Fountain County; No. 2, Tippecanoe County; No. 2, Knox County; No. 1, Morgan County; No. 4, Randolph County; No. 3, Tippecanoe County; No. 2, Elkhart County; No. 5, St. Joseph County; No. 3, Clay County; No. 7, Vigo County; No. 1, Fayette County; No. 1, Allen County; No. 3, Miami County; No. 3, Pike County; No. 1, Montgomery County; and No. 4, No. 2, Boone County. George W. Ross, in Ripley County, was authorized to organize Posts in the 3d Congressional District, Jefferson County, No. 1; Captain Ed. R. Kerstetter, in the 10th Congressional District; Colonel G. O. Behm, of Post No. 1, Tippecanoe, was authorized to convene Council of Posts and consolidate them in Tippecanoe County with No. 2, Franklin County.

The above Posts I find among my records as those complying with Department General Order, No. 3, 3d Series, some seeking and others effecting a reorganization, on pay-

ment of assessment, dues, etc. All such were supplied with the new Ritual that came to us in May.

On June 22d, 1868, General James C. Veatch, who was organizing the 1st Congressional District, was written to as follows:

"I send you General Order, No. 4. Nothing ever done in Vanderburg; Warrick, at Newburg, is dead; Perry languid; look to Spencer; Pike in good condition, as far as organized; Gibson ditto; Davies none; Knox two. Much can be done in your District. I send you blank applications, and, if possible, put a Post in every township. . . . Anything you may need to assist you, call upon me."

Also on same date, to Major W. W. Carter, Bowling Green, Clay County, I wrote as follows:

"It is a pleasure to congratulate our comrades upon their success, especially where there has been so much fault-finding and jealousy of the soldier. You have a large field of labor before you, and, if properly engineered, no fears of your success need be entertained. You can now organize your District with more than an eye for your country's good—your own. As in 1866, we had to carry this State, and now we have a rebel organization in our midst known as "White Boys in Blue." They are meaner and stronger than is generally known. I send you General Order, No. 4. This will show number of Posts in each county in your District. Lawrence needs strengthening. Monroe ditto. Greene ditto. Sullivan revived. Vigo revived. Clay revived. Owen reorganized. Parke revived, and Vermillion ditto. . . . Whatever you may want in the way of assistance, call upon us."

So also to General Jasper Packard, of date June 26th, I wrote:

“I send you a number of blank applications to assist you in organizing your District. Also General Order, No. 4, showing number of Posts in your District. Jasper County has but one Post, at Renssalaer; Newton, none; White, four; Pulaski, one, at Medaryville; Fulton, one at Rochester—I have written to Colonel Shryock; Marshall, two, at Plymouth and Bourbon; Starke, one, at Knox; Porter, two, at Valparaiso and Hebron; Lake, five—they need reviving; St. Joe, seven—need reviving; La Porte, three—need attention.

“The greater majority the greater the strength to the ticket. Anything you may desire in the way of blanks and documents will be furnished you. The new Ritual and Constitution will be forwarded to each Post upon organization. If Posts cannot forward fee, forward application without it, making statement thereon of such fact.”

The above were duly signed,

“By order Commander,

“O. M. WILSON,  
“*Adjutant-General.*”

Bearing directly upon the subject matter of these communications, I later, on August 11th, 1868, made a few suggestions to General N. P. Chipman, Adjutant-General, Grand Army of the Republic, Washington, D. C., touching matters especially affecting the Order in our Department. I do not hesitate to give this letter entire to these pages, *verbatim et literatim*—as far as present type affords:

“August 11th, 1868.

“*Gen'l N. P. Chipman,*

“*A.-G., G. A. R.*

“Dear General:—I am convinced by experience in the G. A. R. having been longer connected with the Order officially than, I believe, any other person, that the only thing that can possibly #102 over 9, 49 / dg from @A #38#2 89. I@348. EAG. S2, 454# X29.# 4922.—-3.#5#H 20 #9. 1. 722# 38H. H 4626I L47 7 X3# CP59P402. In some a 484@238A28H. 64a163H. 211o3 in # 2P 7 217.S 29 of Dept. a 47.97H, or LI#H with the National Council.

“Fraternally,

“*O. M. WILSON,*

“*Adjt.-General.”*

I have been asked, “Why not write this letter out in long hand?” I answer, “There are a number of reasons: first, it would subserve no purpose that affects present conditions; second, it was very personal in its character—this I remember; and third, I have forgotten the ‘Code Cipher.’” My impression now is, General Chipman agreed with me.

The fine spun theories and sentimental organism of national officers simply made it impossible to hold the organization to its former strength in our Department under the exactions that far exceeded the line of wisdom and common sense. There was nothing then in the Order to require or support such epauletism. As I read these orders now they seem silly, bombastic. Men were not living then to pay allegiance, or homage to the pomp and pageantry of individual arrogance, and as future events proved, there was a limit to this parade of parvenu virtue. Organized for

political purposes, so far as selecting worthy soldiers for office and electing them, it accomplished its purpose, and put the affairs of state in the hands of their friends. And not only in Indiana, but other States felt the injustice of such military exaction and punctilious observance of "rules," for which no other support than good-fellowship was originally intended or required.

It was with this light before him that the Commander-in-chief called a Council at Philadelphia for October 1st, 1868, to which Department Commanders and their Adjutants were invited, "as matters of great interest to the welfare of the Order will be discussed."

I went to this Council. From correspondence we had, I learned that the contractor to manufacture the badge had for some reason failed to comply with his contract (I think the plate had been destroyed by fire—this was the badge adopted at the Philadelphia Encampment January, 1868), and that the Ritual, also adopted at the same time, could not be used without the badge, as one dovetailed the other. This was a part of the work, we assumed, that was to be done over again, and it was in the desire to get back again the old Ritual, made by Stephenson, that induced our Department to be represented.

Some little change was made in the badge, but as to the Ritual, the Council appointed the following named committee, with instruction to revise it, and, in connection therewith, to consider the subject of degrees; also to recommend a uniform for the Order, to report at the next National Encampment. This committee was named as follows: James

Shaw, Jr., Providence, R. I.; Louis Wagner, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. H. Quint, New Bedford, Mass.; O. M. Wilson, Indianapolis; T. W. Higginson, Newport, R. I.; Thomas L. Young, Cincinnati, Ohio; F. W. Sparling, Nashville, Tenn.

Before taking up the subject of the Ritual, I desire to speak of this badge adopted by the Council. It was the original, with the addition of an eagle surmounting, and a circular pendant, that was intended to express the rank of the comrade wearing it. There were only twenty-three grades, or styles of this badge, signifying as many officers or grades in the Order. The private's badge could be had for 40 cents up to \$25, as he might prefer, according to the quality of the metal, or his cupidity or vanity. It required a three-page circular to announce this badge and its various colors and designs, in enamel, silver, and gold, all of which could be had of National Headquarters *only*. In the parlance of latter-day expressions, National Headquarters had then, and, I learn, has continued "to have and to hold" "the cinch" on supplies.

Then later, probably from the fact that revenue was not coming in fast enough by sale of these badges, "a commission for all officers of the Grand Army of the Republic . . . has been adopted by these National Headquarters, and is now ready for distribution." This commission was surmounted with "the national eagle"; it bore the facsimile signatures of the Commander-in-chief, Adjutant-General, and Assistant Adjutant-General. Officers who had served under the administration of General S. A. Hurlbut "would be furnished with commissions containing his por-

trait; price, on paper, 50 cents; on pink satin, \$2.50. Orders will be sent to the Assistant Adjutant-General, *National Headquarters.*" To any comrade securing orders for not "less than 25 certificates" was offered a "satin certificate, or commission."

It was as much this spirit of greed and speculation upon the Order, that invited contempt, ridicule, and disgust for and of the men who sought to "make money" out of the cupidity of the soldier, that led to indifference, and from indifference to refusal to have anything to do with the Order, as then managed and conducted at National Headquarters. The Assistant Adjutant-General was at the time holding a Government position in Washington—pension agent, I believe. He became involved in some questionable transaction in office, as we then understood, and disappeared. I know in Grand Army of the Republic circles extreme efforts were made to hush the affair, but it eventually gained publicity. The few who knew refused to talk. Following this development, and weary of the iron rule and methods of administering Grand Army affairs, with General Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin, and other noble spirits and lovers of the first principles of the Order, Indiana joined with him and other leading representatives to overthrow the Logan dynasty and place General Robert C. Schenck in command. But the Quartermaster's Department was too strong, and Logan was re-elected. On the veriest technicality, Indiana and other Departments were excluded—*until after the election.* The Quartermaster-General—though our warm, personal friend, especially of Department Commander Foster—had the

“cinch” and held it, because we had opposed his peculation. The extravagance in his Department—Quartermaster-General—continued into 1869 and 1870, for the aggrandizement of a few martinets; and because we would not buy badges and “commissions” and pay on demand all “assessments” and submit to whatever exactions they saw fit to impose in many ways, principally on Posts that had once been active, but now could no longer stand the strain, and had “gone out of commission,” and because the Department would not pay the “per capita tax” for men once members, but now no longer affiliating, being unable and unwilling to demand from Post and comrade what we knew they did not owe, and where they did owe could not pay—for these causes we were “held up,” and met their malediction, and denied our constitutional rights and representation on what we insisted was our right, on what we claimed our just and proper representation to be, and for which we stood ready to meet all legal demands.

Under such impositions, conditions, and restraints, is it any wonder the Order in Indiana gradually dissolved? It was at this Philadelphia Council that the spirit of peculation, well concealed by designing men, took its first breath, that eventually blew strong enough, as will be seen, to overthrow the first and only great organization—that founded on Stephenson’s Ritual and Constitution.

A new Ritual must be made—the syndicate required it for revenue.

The first meeting of this committee was called for March 3d, 1869. I was then Department Commander. On Febru-

ary 13th, 1869, General Shaw writes me of the second meeting in Washington on the 4th, saying, "We have received many suggestions and some entire manuscripts of rules and regulations and Ritual. . . . I think we shall be able to greatly improve both, . . . and I hope place the Grand Army of the Republic on a firm footing"—something we all realized to be vital to the Order. I heard nothing further from General Shaw. He had my views. I didn't want anything but the Stephenson Ritual. I wasn't in sympathy with the committee's work, and Shaw let me alone. The third National Encampment assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 12th and 13th, 1869, in pursuance of General Order, No. 20, Washington, March 25th, 1869, which contained the resolution of the Philadelphia Encampment of 1868, requiring the levy by Departments of one dollar on each Post to reimburse the then Adjutant-General—for what purpose is not stated—"the balance to be retained by the Quartermaster-General *for the benefit of the Grand Army of the Republic*," and "holding the Department Commanders responsible for the collection," etc. Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, and other States were at first excluded—"hadn't paid their bills"—but were finally admitted to the gracious privilege(?) to act as negatives, and, to their credit be it ever remembered, to oppose what is to-day only a memory to some of us—a degree Ritual.

At this Encampment the Ritual authorized by the Philadelphia Council was presented and adopted. It embraced three degrees, the Recruit, the Soldier, the Veteran. The Adjutant-General was directed to print the entire work for the use of the Order.

As a member of this Committee I sought the restoration of our first Ritual. I disapproved of the great cumbersome secret work—stolen, I believed, from some secret ancient order. Later in life I discovered this to be so. I protested against the degrees, saying even what we had was more than enough. I remember the morning when we assembled to report the revision. Shaw and I were walking together, when he said: “Wilson, you may not see through some of this now, but you will after while—one of these days.” I answered him, “Our boys will never work under degrees. They will have nothing to do with whatever is different from what was required of them in the service.”

Time proved the truth of my declaration.

The Encampment then passed resolutions putting in effect this Ritual with its grades, and providing for “an entire reorganization which should be accomplished at the earliest moment,” reads General Order, No. 1, May 22d, 1869. Further in this order, the Commander-in-chief, Logan, re-elected in Cincinnati, speaks of “the imperative necessity of promptness in transmitting all reports and dues to his headquarters.” The “utmost activity” is urged. The “necessity of implicit obedience to the rules and regulations” *commanded*. Also, “the new Rituals, rules, and regulations, with all blanks, quarterly returns, etc., *can be obtained only through these headquarters. All orders will be promptly filled.*” This was the continuation of the beginning of the end—peculation through National Headquarters—in the Quartermaster-General’s Department.

At this time we all knew what polities meant, and among ourselves we made no effort to conceal our purposes. We knew, too, that certain national officials had aspirations that materialized before the country later. We could understand, too, what the following paragraph meant, in General Order, No. 20, convening this Cincinnati Encampment: "A complete roster of the Posts throughout the United States, giving locality of Posts and officers, would be of great service at these headquarters, and enable a more rapid communication when the Commander-in-chief may desire to reach the Posts direct upon any matter proper to be submitted in that manner. *It is therefore directed that, upon the receipt of this order, Posts prepare such roster, and forward it to these headquarters direct.*"

Anybody can read between these lines the purpose, yet in a former General Order, No. 6, Feb. 18th, 1868, all business, etc., "must come through the ordinary channels." My recollection is that we never furnished National Headquarters with such complete roster, nor asked the Posts to do so.

Yet in the very face of the purpose concealed in this Order, No. 20, Logan takes a re-election, on a declaration of principles absolutely antagonistic and revolutionary to the successful execution of such order. His Order, No. 1, promulgating the resolutions adopted at the Cincinnati Encampment, made their enforcement imperative.

These resolutions deserve a place in this history as the means and contributing cause—the chief cause—of the disruption of the Grand Army, not only in Indiana, but throughout the country. They are as follows:

*Resolved*, That in order to put in operation the system of grades, the following is adopted:

“1st. That those who are now eligible to the third grade shall include, upon taking the several obligations, all present and past officers and members of the National Encampment and of the several Department Encampments, and all present and past Commanders, Vice-Commanders, Adjutants, Quartermasters, Surgeons, and Chaplains of Posts, together with all members of the Grand Army of the Republic who shall have been members eight months; provided, that the above mentioned shall be in good standing in the several Posts and Departments, and free from all dues on the 1st day of July, 1869; and provided, that they take the several obligations prior to the 1st day of September, 1869.

“2d. That all comrades in good standing and free from all dues on the first day of July, 1869, who have been members two months, shall constitute the second grade; provided, that they take the obligations of the first and second grades prior to the 1st day of September, 1869.

“3d. All recruits received on or after the 1st day of July, 1869, together with all comrades, not taking the obligations of higher grades to which they are entitled, shall upon taking the first obligation constitute the first grade.

“4th. . . . .

“5th. Neither the Department nor Posts in arrears shall receive the Ritual, sign, or passwords, only at the discretion of the Commander-in-chief.

“6th. Every comrade now entitled to the third grade, as well as all entitled in the future, shall pay a fee of ten

cents on advancement, the same to go to the National Encampment. Department Headquarters shall be held responsible for the payment of said fees to the National Encampment and Posts to Department Encampments.

“7th. The dues to the National Encampment for the ensuing year shall be 4 cents per capita, upon each member borne on the reports of Departments and Posts, the same to be paid in four equal payments July, October, January, and April.”

Under these resolutions, General Order, No. 4, National Headquarters, July 21st, 1869, the Commander-in-chief promulgated additional instructions and regulations for their enforcement, and as to admitting comrades to the grades, presenting the ultimatum of a “muster out” unless obeyed.

This assumption of power simply paralyzed the Order. There was no authority, express or implied, in the regulations, or given by the Encampment for such an arbitrary, revolutionary order. The so-called reorganization was not by virtue of any power given by that instrument. It was based on the resolutions, passed by an Encampment that exceeded its power and authority. They were passed as instructions as to the method of introducing the grades. No such plenary power, however, could be given, or was intended to be vested in the Commander-in-chief, to take from a comrade his membership, acquired under the Constitution in the form and manner there given. If, as he pretended to do, he could exceed or extend the limits of the letter and spirit of the organic law, he could likewise change its force, abrogate, and demolish it at will. We held that

these resolutions were simple declarations, not laws; that they could not carry a law into effect. Their mission was to aid in the exercise of authority given by the Constitution, simply directory to the Commander-in-chief, the creature of these regulations, and that the Encampment could only direct and empower him as the Constitution permitted. But these resolutions not only enforced restrictions, but enlarged the organic law and assumed to impose commands in violence of that law, and the Commander-in-chief ignored not only the law, but the constitutional rights of every comrade in the Order, when he directed every comrade to remuster for membership, or forfeit it.

I never believed General Logan was personally cognizant, or even formulated a single one of these orders. He left the work and executive duties to members of his staff. He was an exceptionally honorable and pure man, and never would do indirectly what he could not conscientiously do directly. He placed confidence in those around him, and assumed that in their positions they were doing no more than authorized to do, and doing it within the letter of the law; and when some of the most ardent workers in the Order opposed his re-election in 1870, he understood the reason to be not personal, but for the overthrow of a set of parasites, in whom he had confidence. He did not want re-election, but his staff did. A re-election meant change of headquarters and staff. The history of the Order confirms the fact that the Quartermaster-General's Department was the power behind the throne.

General Beath, in his "History," speaking of these grades, says: "In considering the disappointing results of

this new departure, it must be remembered that the Order was then in a condition of great depression, and that some change seemed absolutely necessary to maintain the membership and stimulate recruiting." The sole and only mistake was, the East tried to put it on a new footing—make out of the old a new Order, and they failed. General Beath should know, and probably he did know, that the Grand Army in nearly every Department was strongest in 1868-9. He knew, too, that it was the morbid, "goody-goody" in the Order, for sentimental degree work, that began to seep its powers. He knew, too, that when he and his confreres would cloak the cardinal principle of the Order by crying "Charity, charity," they were putting a penny in the slot and taking a shilling out.

As the Adjutant-General of the Department of Indiana at that time, I know we were never stronger—that is, we carried our organization, as such, at a higher mark than was generally known; but the false position taken by many, knowing it was false—I use the word with a full knowledge of its meaning—and, while using the Order for their own personal preferment, at the same time cried out "Amen!" from the front seat of the synagogue, whenever some small soul would denounce us as political assassins. These same men, whose hypocrisy became in time so illy concealed, wrought up such a feeling of bitterness that men refused to succor them, and rather than play the part of Janus, quietly stepped aside, and their Posts naturally dwindled to a mere name. We called them our "Uriah Heaps." This was the condition when General Foster resigned. He had done ev-

erything in his power to hold his Department from dissolution. But he saw the inevitable, and the effect of such a glamour and pageantry; and he knew veteran soldiers would not submit to such tinselry and ceremony to please their own or any other man's vanity. However, his administration embraced the period effected by the Philadelphia Encampment, and the introduction of the innovations produced there. As early as February 17th, 1868, we saw the drift of the National Headquarters to absorb every privilege heretofore exercised by Departments, especially in monopolizing the printing of all supplies. By direction of General Foster, I addressed a letter to General Chipman, the Adjutant-General, upon the subject of printing the Rituals and other supplies required by our Department. A copy of that letter is before me; it reads:

“I am directed by the Commander of this Department to say that he hopes the printing of the Ritual will be given to each Department where such work can be done at the lowest rate; . . . . that if Washington city prices can compete with our own prices, he does not feel inclined to ask any better privilege for his own Department.

“This Department has a Grand Army printer, and the corps of printers to whom such work has been assigned is composed entirely of comrades, and since one of the cardinal principles of our organization is mutual assistance, he thinks this can be better exemplified by just such means used at home, and whatever benefits that may in any way accrue from the order in this Department, can be better appreciated by the comrades directly than indirectly. He therefore

requests that so much of your communication in reference to the printing of Rituals in Washington city be modified, so that his Department may continue to exercise this privilege and derive the benefits for the interests of all comrades in the Department of Indiana.

“I am, sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*”

“P. S.—Our Rituals have not cost us 1 cent per copy. The Headquarters at Springfield endeavored to compel us to pay their prices, 10 cents, but the officers of this Department were unwilling to encourage such an enterprise.”

I regret that the answer to this request and the further correspondence on this subject is not in my possession. However, as it will be seen hereafter, National Headquarters made no concession, but exacted its tribute in enriching prices for every kind of supply, against which we unavailingly protested.

When it is remembered that from the first Order in 1866 we printed every kind of supply, and gave thousands upon thousands to our own comrades, and others, in different States, it will not be wondered with what revolt we turned against this barefaced, systematic peculation. And because General Foster would not submit to the many schemes, emanating from National Headquarters, his Adjutant-General had to get the censure, in many cases; and the same Adjutant-General generally had the privilege of reply, and took it.

On December 23d, General Foster resigned his position as Department Commander, in the following letter:

*"To the Council of Administration, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana.*

"Comrades:—I have the honor to tender to you my resignation as Department Commander. A multiplicity of private business prevents me from paying attention to the interests of the Department, and a sense of duty compels me to adopt this course.

"I take this opportunity of testifying to the efficiency and energy of Major O. M. Wilson, Adjutant-General of the Department, to whose efforts the magnitude and good condition of the Order are due.

"R. S. FOSTER."

Upon General Charles Cruft, Senior Vice Grand Commander, Department of Indiana, devolved the duties **of** the office, and on Dec. 24th, 1868, he was notified as follows:

"Dear General:—The resignation of Major-General R. S. Foster, Grand Commander of this Department, devolves the command thereof upon yourself. His resignation has been forwarded to the Council of Administration. What are your instructions? Is it your desire to assume the duties of Grand Commander?

"Your obedient servant,

"O. M. WILSON,  
*"Adjutant-General."*

On the same date the following communication was sent to the Council of Administration:

"General:—I have the honor to enclose herewith the resignation of Major-General R. S. Foster as Grand Commander of this Department. The Senior Vice Grand Com-

mander, General Charles Cruft, has been notified that such resignation leaves him in command until a Grand Commander shall be appointed by the Grand Council.

“I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“O. M. WILSON,

“*Adjutant-General.*

“MAJOR-GENERAL NATHAN KIMBALL,

“*Chairman of Grand Council.*”

I do not believe it is even to this day generally known that General Foster resigned the office of Department Commander. The time was so near for the State Encampment that no order was issued, as I remember now, announcing such resignation, and it was deemed best, and for the good of the Order, that no mention should be made of it to the Posts.

Foster's resignation had long been contemplated. He saw the impossibility, under the series of orders from National Headquarters, of carrying out the instructions to re-organize the Order. He was disgusted with the play of martinetts, whose brief authority in the Grand Army—civic organization as it was—exceeded the most absolute discipline in the war. This parade of authority was not palatable to any of us, and we sought by every means to stop—even overthrow—it, for the simple reason that it was placing the Order upon a plane we believed its founder never intended it to occupy.

When argument failed, backed up as it was with evidence of impossibility to conform to the exactions made of individ-

uals and Posts to retain membership, then to avoid further contention and be released from further responsibility, Foster saw his way clear to throw off his mantle of authority by resigning.

To be sure, this act left the Indiana Headquarters in my hands, though throughout my whole service as Adjutant-General, I had never presented a question to either Foster or Kimball that had not been approved, with discretionary power to act. The implicit confidence, therefore, given me by these Commanders was never abused. My authority was *carte blanche*. Hence Foster's resignation was simply the stepping down or going out of office and leaving the door open—for me to shut.

That the end was near I knew, unless orders were modified. We were not willing to surrender our prestige of 1866 and 1868. At the same time we realized we could not then make the Order efficient along the lines of its first years—and with this feeling of distrust it was not an easy selection of a successor.

I do not remember whether General Kimball, as Chairman of the Council, or whether I, as Adjutant-General, issued the order for the 4th State Encampment, which convened in the following January, 1869.

As I now remember, some forty Posts—forty-one, I think—responded to the order. I was chosen Department Commander. The records of this Encampment were turned over to my successor, Colonel Humphrey, and lost, as heretofore mentioned. The burden, with all my efforts to keep it off Foster, fell at last upon myself. The officers-elect were

announced in General Orders, No. 1, 4th Series, dated Indianapolis, May, 1869.

“I. The following officers, chosen at the recent State Encampment, are herewith announced for the information of this Department:

“Commander: O. M. Wilson, Indianapolis.

“Senior Vice-Commander: J. R. Hallowell, Rockville.

“Junior Vice-Commander: J. Turnock, South Bend.

“Assistant Inspector-General: R. S. Robertson, Fort Wayne.

“Assistant Quartermaster-General: W. M. Wiles, Indianapolis.

“Assistant Surgeon-General: Samuel Davis, New Trenton.

“Grand Chaplain: N. S. Smith, Fort Wayne.

“II. Private M. G. McLain is herewith announced as Assistant Adjutant-General, and will be respected accordingly.

“III. It is gratifying to announce that the efforts made by your past officers towards advancing the position of our Order to a closer brotherhood have not been in vain. A new work embracing an entire change of the unwritten work in three parts, and an elaborate constitution were adopted at the last National Encampment held at Cincinnati, May 11th and 12th, and will soon be promulgated to the Order. *When received* at these headquarters, notice will be made and full instruction issued, which will be given to Posts by an aide-de-camp.

“All Posts *retaining* their organization are *requested* to report at once by letter to the Assistant Adjutant-General.

“Posts are requested to carry out General Orders, No. 21, of National Headquarters, designating the 29th and 30th day of May to decorate the graves of our deceased comrades, and promptly report their proceedings to these headquarters.

“IV. Though the spirit and letter of our Constitution makes the Grand Army of the Republic a Soldiers’ Brotherhood, yet to successfully prove our sincerity, it must have that cordial unanimity and purity of purpose at every threshold to preserve intact its great principles, and perpetuate its richest blessings. Our opportunities are always; our duty eternal. In our Order it is not the province of an officer to command: only execute what others may direct, and direct only in what may be given for guidance in the general interest and welfare of all. In this spirit, with this duty, is this trust and honor received.

“O. M. WILSON,  
“*Department Commander.*

“Official.

“M. G. McLAIN,  
“*Assistant Adjutant-General.*”

There were several reasons for the delay in issuing this order. One was a feeling, pretty general, that the Grand Army had about performed its mission, as first conceived. The new plant that had been set out at Philadelphia was slow to take on its growth. Another reason was my inability to find the right man for Adjutant-General, until McLain was developed. Another reason was, I was Secretary of the Indiana Senate, and could not give my time, nor did I want to commit my army duties to another until

I could co-operate with him, though in this time there was much correspondence with Posts. McLain fortunately was State Librarian, and, as custodian of the State House, selected one of the vacant Senate Committee rooms for headquarters. Our efforts, however, were directed more to holding the Order together than to strengthen or expand it, preferring to let time work out a solution of issues made at the Cincinnati Encampment.

Nevertheless, as will be seen from the following, the Department of Indiana was yet strong enough and sufficiently recognized to carry out Department orders for the "decoration of graves of our deceased comrades," in obedience to General Orders, No. 21, National Headquarters.

ORDER OF PROCESSION AND CEREMONIES ON  
DECORATION DAY AT CROWN HILL  
CEMETERY, ON SATURDAY,  
MAY 29TH, 1869.

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*By the Ladies of Indianapolis, under the Auspices of the  
Grand Army of the Republic.*

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ORDER OF PROCESSION.

*First Division.*

1. Pioneers of Indianapolis.
2. Police of Indianapolis.
3. Myers' Band.
4. City Battalion, commanded by General Fred Knefler.
5. Soldiers' Orphans.
6. Ladies in charge of Decoration.
7. Governor Baker and Staff.
8. Department Commander G. A. R. and Staff.
9. Members of G. A. R. and ex-Soldiers U. S. A.
10. Masonic Orders.
11. Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

*Second Division.*

1. Martial Band.
2. U. S. Arsenal Guard.
3. Ministers in Carriages.

4. U. S. Officers in Carriages.
5. State Officers in Carriages.
6. County Officers in Carriages.
7. City Officers in Carriages.
8. Temperance Organizations.
9. German Maennerchor and Societies.

*Third Division.*

1. The Press.
2. Sabbath Schools.
3. Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange.
4. Board of Trade.
5. Butchers' Associations.
6. Officers of Benevolent Institutions.
7. Schools of Indianapolis.
8. Citizens in Carriages.

*Marshals.*

Chief Marshal—Comrade Daniel Macauley.

Assistants—Charles F. Hogate, J. William Bradshaw, and Joseph P. Wiggins.

Marshals First Division—Comrades E. F. Ritter and Lea W. Munhall.

Second Division—Comrades Frank Erdelmyer and Chas. W. Brouse.

Third Division—David Braden and Henry L. Benham.

The first division will form in the order above named on East Ohio Street, right resting on Meridian Street.

The second division will form on West Market, west of Circle and Meridian streets, right resting on Ohio Street.

The third division will form on East Market and East Circle Street, right resting on northeast corner of Circle and Meridian streets.

Divisions will form in such time as to be ready to move promptly at 1 o'clock p. m.

Each "Order" or "Association" will take its place and number in its Division, and report its arrival to the Chief Marshal or his assistants, at the corner of Meridian and Ohio streets. Any "Order" or "Association" not yet reported will join the Third Division and report its presence to the Marshal.

All associations are requested to furnish their own transportation, if possible.

The different Orders on foot will take the street-cars at the end of the line of march, which will be north on Meridian to St. Clair Street, and west on St. Clair to Illinois, where the cars will be entered *by the procession only*, as fast as the column moves up.

Care should be taken, upon entering the cars, to preserve the order of the procession, as it will be re-formed before entering the Cemetery.

Citizens are advised to take the street-cars to the Cemetery during the morning of the 29th, in order that no confusion or disappointment may result, from the fact that all the cars are secured for the procession at one o'clock.

There will be ample time and accommodation for *all* to return to the city.

DANIEL MACAULEY,  
*Chief Marshal.*

ORDER OF CEREMONY.

*Upon Reaching the Cemetery the Following Order will be Observed in the Ceremony of Decoration.*

1. "Assembly."
2. Reading General Order, No. 21, National Headquarters.
3. Hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Under direction of Prof. Black.
4. Prayer, by Rev. Robert Sloss.
5. Ode, "Our Heroes." Quartette.
6. Burial Service; by the Grand Army of the Republic, Rev. L. H. Jameson, Chaplain of Post No. 6, officiating.
7. Salute, by Zouave Battalion.
8. Decoration of the Graves, by the ladies of Indianapolis.
9. Oration, by Comrade John Coburn.
10. "Star Spangled Banner," by Band, and a National Salute, by the Hackleman Battery.
11. Benediction, by Rev. Henry Day.

O. M. WILSON,

*Department Commander, Master of Ceremonies.*

General Orders, No. 2, 4th Series, of the Department, July 3d, 1869, promulgated General Orders, No. 3, National Headquarters, June 8th, 1869, containing the "resolutions" heretofore mentioned, adopted at the Cincinnati Encampment in May, 1869.

There was a time when we numbered over 300 Posts, but consolidation under Kimball and Foster had brought the

number down to less than 100 when I was chosen Department Commander. In the latter part of General Foster's administration the number stood at 268, but this number shrank very materially for the reasons stated, and at this time, June 8th, 1869, the orders of the Department might just as well have been issued "To whom it may concern," for the orders, requiring extraordinary obligations and imposing uncalled-for and ceremonious details for reorganization, made it impossible to carry into force any one of their provisions. And in addition to this state of affairs, produced by Logan's order on the "resolutions," came this announcement in Circular 1 of date June 25th, 1869:

"All blanks, . . . leaves of absence, transfers, discharges, descriptive books for Adjutants, and applications for membership to the grades of recruit, soldier, and veteran will be furnished to Posts, through their respective headquarters, at the following rates:

"Rituals, seven (7) in a set, containing the work, three grades, \$3.00 per set.

"Rituals, bound in cloth, \$5.00 per set.

"Rules and regulations, \$10.00 per hundred copies.

"Proceedings of the National Encampment, \$20.00 per 100 copies.

"Applications (three forms), \$1.00 per 100 copies.

"Adjutant's reports, 10 cents per copy.

"Quartermaster's reports, 8 cents per copy.

"Post descriptive books, \$3.50 per copy.

"Inspector's reports of all kinds, 10 cents per copy.

"Assistant Adjutant-General's reports, 10 cents per copy.

“Assistant Quartermaster-General’s reports, 10 cents per copy.

“Post-Surgeon’s reports, 5 cents per copy.

“Medical Director’s reports, 10 cents per copy.

“Judge Advocate’s reports, 10 cents per copy.

“Leaves of absence, transfers, and discharges, \$5.00 per 100 copies.

“Posts will make prompt requisition upon their respective Department Headquarters, *accompanied with the cash for books, blanks, etc., and Departments will in turn make requisition upon these headquarters.*”

Certainly. This already systematized “hold-up” and official robbery—I called it so then, and I call it so now—under the cloak of promoting a great fraternal brotherhood of soldiers, declared Department, Post, and comrade disloyal if its behests were not promptly met. The idea that a comrade in this organization, founded only on comradeship and good-fellowship, should be required to have a “leave of absence” from his Post, or a “transfer,” or a “discharge”! that there should be “an inspector” to report the material, mental, physical, and presumably sanitary condition of his Post! that there should be Post “descriptive books,” lest he should—desert, probably, and wander off to some other camp of veterans and fraternize, because, mayhaps, some old “coffee cooler” was there who had “drunk from the same canteen” with him! No, it was not this. It was to manufacture something out of which money could be filched from comrades, under pretense of the liberty to enjoy the right of fellowship in this Order. These

matters were all freely discussed by our comrades, and condemned.

I remember McLain, my Adjutant-General, when we got this order, after reading it, interspersed with divers *figures of speech*, looked up at me; as I was standing by his side watching the effect upon him, and exclaimed: “*What do they take us for, anyhow—damn fools?*” “Evidently so, Me,” I replied; “however, we will give the boys a chance to say something.” General Orders, No. 2, 4th Series, followed, with marked emphasis:

“Post Commanders and officers of the Department are requested to assemble at Department Headquarters July 21st, 1869, for the purpose of receiving instruction in the late revised rules and regulations governing the Grand Army of the Republic. Posts *desiring* a reorganization, to be represented in this assembly, must proceed to elect new officers prior to the 21st, and *come up with the assessment*. . . . It is expected all reports will be made *promptly*.”

These “assessments” were to pay “an adequate salary of the Assistant Adjutant-General and Inspector-General.” All this was in “obedience to orders” from National Headquarters. Further:

“Comrades will see that they are now entering upon a work unlike the former, and which will require the earnest effort of officers to inaugurate throughout the Department.

“It is found impossible to calculate the dues of many Posts, and in order to enable all who *desire to enjoy the benefits of the new work* to stand on an equal ground with others, an assessment on the *comparative* membership has

been declared the most acceptable method of attaining the end sought.

"The new constitution *permits* an assessment of 50 cents on each member. The emergency must be great to demand this. That of this Department *is* great, but not greater than, it is thought, will be covered by the present assessment, which, when paid, will entitle the Posts to receive the new work, and not before.

"Posts that have failed to report within *one year* will not receive notice. All Posts to whom notice is sent, failing to comply with the above 'orders' prior to July 21st, will be disbanded."

The spirit of this order cannot be interpreted now as it was then. The National "order" was sent with our order that the source of instructions might be known. There was not a Post that was not in sympathy with Department Headquarters. The schedule of prices for blanks, etc., was sent along. Many Posts never answered. Some sarcasm accompanied some of the answers. One said: "Can't raise money enough to buy a 'leave of absence' to come up to headquarters to see you about it." Another: "The Post is in too deep a hole." One wanted a "thousand" commissions—pink satin—to distribute to the poor." One was: "We'll see Grant about it." These I recall, but they always came on separate slips of paper, not on the official letter, except in one case where it was added as a postscript.

Even to reorganize meant the entailment of an expense that was considered unwarranted and exorbitant—a system of tribute that was denounced and repudiated.

However, the broadest latitude was given the Posts without imposing harsh measures. Everything was left to their own desire, and that all might have a voice, a year's time was authorized to elapse from the time restrictions and exactions were placed around and upon their old Post organization under the plain, simple, all-sufficient Stephenson Constitution and Ritual.

Though the proceedings of this assembly on the 21st of July, 1869, were lost in the following year, with others as heretofore shown, I remember the spirit of the meeting and the discussions by a large number of the comrades. Some represented Posts reorganized; others came to fully know the situation, and what was best to be done, and the easiest way to do it. It was a query, what was to become of members who had failed to report, because there were no regular meetings of the Post to report to, and others who had been dropped, and yet the Post had failed to keep up a proper organization. In the face of this "sea of troubles," I declined to enforce "obedience to orders," and directed the representatives to build up and hold their Post organizations, as it had always existed, until I could explain the situation to National Headquarters.

While we were satisfied we were doing all things for the best, and would eventually be able to soften down some of the iron-clad features of General Orders from National Headquarters, on that same day, July 21st, 1869, was promulgated General Orders, No. 4, National Headquarters, transmitting "*additional regulations relative to admitting comrades to the grades of recruit, soldier, and veteran.*"



MAJOR O. M. WILSON. (1866.)

*Adjutant-General Department of Indiana and Acting Provisional National Adjutant-General, July 1866 to Nov. 21, 1866. Adjutant-General-Elect, Department of Indiana, Nov. 1866 to Jan. 1868. Adjutant-General Department of Indiana, Jan. 1868 to Jan. 1869. Department Commander, Jan. 1869 to Jan. 1870.*

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \frac{C_1 - C_2}{C_1 + C_2} = 2 \\
 \Rightarrow & \frac{1}{2} \frac{C_1 - C_2}{C_1 + C_2} = 1 \\
 \Rightarrow & \frac{C_1 - C_2}{C_1 + C_2} = 2
 \end{aligned}$$

Had *this* order been received during our session, the Department of Indiana would then and there have "tied up."

So far as the Department was concerned, the crucial test was now being made. I knew it was impossible to try to hold our organization to a strict compliance with the General Order, No. 4, and so reported to National Headquarters, stating that I would endeavor to enforce it, but the innovation was so great I thought the Posts would be unable to maintain their organization.

On September 13th, 1869, General Order, No. 3, 4th Series, Department of Indiana, was issued to this effect:

"I. After consultation with National Headquarters, and upon a decision of the Judge Advocate, the Department Commander assumes the responsibility, and hereby orders, that the time for instructing all members in the new work be extended to the 1st day of October, 1869. Comrades must understand that no further extension of time will be granted. If they do not take advantage of the opportunity by that date, they will be out of the Order, and to re-enter it will have to go through the same forms, and submit to all the probations now required of persons who have never been members."

"II. Directs the Posts to prepare for inspection.

"III. Asks Posts to be prompt in forwarding dues, and per capita tax levied by National Headquarters upon each member of the various grades of the Order.

"IV. In organizing and enlisting members, the strictest caution is required, and under no circumstances shall any be allowed to advance from one grade to another unless

such person has proven himself, in former actions and connections with the Order, worthy of the trust about to be confided in him. The officers of the different Posts are expected to enforce all orders promptly and conform strictly to the revised rules and regulations governing the Order.

“V. Posts wishing to reorganize under the new work will report the fact to these headquarters.

“VI. (1) Since the inauguration of the new work July 1st, 1869, the number of the Posts of this Department will hereafter be known according to the date of their re-organization. Each Post, if it desires, will in connection with its number, select the name of some comrade whose memory it may especially cherish, by which it may be designated.

“(2) . . . . .

“(3) The organization of the following Posts is hereby announced:

“No. 5, at Vincennes, Knox County: Commander, J. S. Ostrander.

“No. 39, at Madison, Jefferson County: Commander, N. A. Logan.

“No. 72, at Fort Wayne, Allen County: Commander, W. H. Davis.

“No. 17, at South Bend, St. Joseph County: Commander, Joseph Turnock.

“No. 115, at Ellettsville, Monroe County: Commander, Henry Eakin.

“No. 243, at Petersburg, Pike County: Commander, David M. Tyler.”

Organization in this paragraph meant "re-organization."

"VII. . . . .

"VIII. . . . . No doubt many comrades find it difficult to realize that from the crude and uncertain condition of the Grand Army of the Republic in former days it would be impossible for any sudden transition to a better state, but our fraternity has been advanced beyond a mere association to an enviable position among the benevolent orders of the age, and in its mission it seeks the accomplishment of all that would make a great Nation proud of its name, and that inborn patriotism of its people to one country and one flag. Comrades desiring its fellowship must seek its outposts: the camp is not pitched under the footfall of the recruit.

"By order of the Commander,

"O. M. WILSON,

"M. G. MC LAIX,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

It must be borne in mind that this National General Order, No. 4, July 21st, 1869, was to enforce the *revised rules* of May 12th and 13th, 1869, made at Cincinnati Encampment, bearing on *arrearages, dues, assessments, and per capita tax*, as a kind of purgative preparation, to applying the "resolutions" of that Encampment, putting in force or providing a method for putting in force and operation the new Ritual of three degrees.

This re-creation of the Order lacked many essential ingredients for success, aside from the above. Departments were compelled to buy their supplies of every kind from

National Headquarters at several hundred per cent above war prices, when the Department of Indiana never charged, as a rule, for any supplies of any kind furnished its Posts. There may have been exceptions in some cases, but I cannot now recall a single instance where a charge was made upon or exacted from any Post for Rituals, Constitutions, blanks, etc., of any kind. As I now remember, the Charter fee was supposed to cover all these essentials. The conditions under which we were organized seemed to be either overlooked, or willfully ignored when this General Order, No. 4, was promulgated, which virtually made it impossible for a Post to exist. I had asked the privilege of furnishing my own Department with blanks, etc., and I protested emphatically in plain language against the charge for Rituals, blank reports, etc., but to no avail. My request was denied. I knew it would be.

Rather than sacrifice the truth of history for brevity's sake, I give here this General Order, No. 4, dated July 21st, 1869, National Headquarters, Washington:

"Headquarters Grand Army of the Republic,  
"Adjutant-General's Office, 411 F Street,  
"Washington, D. C., July 21, 1869.

"General Orders, No. 4.

"I. The following additional regulations relative to admitting comrades to the grades of Recruit, Soldier, and Veteran are hereby published for the information of the officers and members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and they will be governed accordingly:

"1. All officers and members of the National Encampment and Department Encampments, and all officers of Posts who have or may hereafter receive the work of Recruit, Soldier, and Veteran, will make out and file with the Post of which they are members the three forms of application to said grades, and at the same time pay to the Post Quartermaster the regular fee of ten (10) cents required by the Rules and Regulations.

"2. All past officers and members of Departments, and all past officers and present members of Posts who are entitled to the grades of Recruit, Soldier, or Veteran, shall, before receiving the new work, make out and file with the Post of which they are members the regular forms of application for membership. The applications will be referred to a committee, whose duty it will be to examine the applicant's discharge or muster-out papers, and call upon the Post Quartermaster and ascertain their standing with his Department: if found in good standing and clear from all dues, they will be mustered as provided by the Ritual, without ballot and without unnecessary delay. The foregoing regulations are necessary in order to complete the Post record of membership.

"3. Charter members and officers of Posts that have not been organized eight months shall receive the new work of the three grades; Provided, that they are in good standing and free from all dues.

"The other members of such Posts will be admitted to the several grades as they become eligible.

“4. The charter members of new Posts, upon their organization, will be instructed in the work of the three grades.

“II. The Department dues to the National Encampment will be at the rate of two (2) cents per capita per annum for the quarter ending March 31, 1869, and thereafter at the rate of four (4) cents per capita per annum.

“III. Department, and Post Commanders will take notice that the Rules and Regulations, and resolution of the National Encampment, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, make it the duty of the Adjutant-General to furnish all blanks required for the use of the Grand Army of the Republic; also the Ritual, Rules and Regulations.

“IV. The prices of the Rules and Regulations, and blanks, necessary for the use of the Grand Army of the Republic, as announced in Circular No. 1, C. S., are hereby revised, and will be furnished as follows:

“Assistant Adjutants-General, Assistant Quartermasters-General, and Medical Directors’ reports without charge; Rules and Regulations, \$5 per 100 copies to Departments, and \$6 to Posts; applications for membership, same as stated in Circular; Post Adjutants’ reports to Departments, at \$5 per 100 copies; Post Surgeons’ and Quartermasters’ reports to Departments, at \$1 per hundred (100) copies; Inspectors’ reports to Departments, at \$3 per 100 copies; Leaves of Absence, Transfers, and Discharges, to Departments, at \$5 per 100 copies. The Post descriptive book is ruled to embrace every fact contained in the application for membership, and contains four *full* quires, and it is very

important that each Post be provided with one in starting out with the new organization.

“V. The Commander-in-chief desires to call special attention to the Surgeons’ reports, which, if filled out as provided for, will furnish much valuable information for our organization, and it is earnestly hoped that every Post Surgeon will make careful examination, and report the facts called for therein.

“VI. . . . .

“VII. Departments are called upon to be prompt in making quarterly reports at the time called for, and if there are any Posts who have not reported within the time specified in the Rules and Regulations, they will be reported as delinquent. All reports from the Assistant Adjutants-General, Assistant Quartermasters-General, Assistant Inspectors-General, and Medical Directors, should be forwarded through National Headquarters to the proper officers.

“VIII. General Orders from these headquarters will be furnished to Departments in numbers sufficient to supply each Post with a copy, free of charge.

“IX. . . . .

“By order of

“JOHN A. LOGAN,  
“Commander-in-chief,  
“WM. T. COLLINS,  
“Adjutant-General.”

Comrades must remember that between then and now more than thirty years have passed; then they were active, and filled with the enthusiasm that would not submit to re-

straint or imposition with the indifference they would now; they needed no formula to hold their fellowship as comrades; they had not been off "the front" so long that they had to be taught what it was to "touch elbow" as comrades—all were veterans, and they regarded this "Ritual business," as it was designated, "play soldiers." Posts could not reorganize unless they paid their dues and assessments. This, then, was the ultimatum, not the fact that you were a comrade. You must pay old dues, etc., under an old organization, that was now practically wiped out, if you wished affiliation in this new order of things. You must pay for something this new condition had abrogated and made impossible to exist. Members, feeling the restraint not imposed when they took their obligation, felt no desire to continue their membership; and thus whatever course either took, if they reorganized, each man would have to file his application for new membership, and for this he was taxed, and then his Post would have to tax him to pay its assessment, and this to be repeated in the process of advancing through all the grades, which, as it was often expressed, involved neither charity, fraternity, nor loyalty, but the payment of money without any value received, or future reward promised greater than at present enjoyed.

Either by mail or in person at Department Headquarters these matters were the subject of discussion. I remember a committee from a Post—in Boone County, I think—came down for "instructions." We had just received General Order, No. 5, from headquarters, and I read it to them. One of its provisions related to a "certificate of member-

ship." "What's the use of such rigmarole?" exclaimed one of the boys. "Certificate? By golly, our certificate's 'forty rounds'! That's all we want. No fellow wants to bring his certificate to me that he's a soldier, or a G. A. R. man! I'll prove him mighty quick."

This was simply one of the many instances of a spirit of resistance to innovation. However, there was one feature in this Order that attracted attention, and it, for the time, gave hope that some good or personal benefit might yet come to the comrade if in the Order; that was the proposed insurance feature. It met with approval. At the same time doubt was expressed if it would not be so hedged, and made so exclusive as to admit only certain ones to its benefits. For instance, the Veteran grade only, thereby compelling a comrade to pass up through the others, with his dues, assessments and tax before he could be eligible to receive the insurance. It met also with suspicion that it was an additional device for somebody to make money off the Order; to make a new bureau, or department of insurance, to pension on good salaries certain parasites that were already feeding on the Order.

The circumstances surrounding this "Order," the purposes it sought, led to the following Department Circular, dated October 4th, 1869:

"CIRCULAR.—Provision is made in the rules and regulations governing our Order for assessing Posts in case of exigency to meet certain Department expenses. The Commander is not willing to ask the payment of an additional assessment for the purpose expressed in the following parts

of General Order, No. 5, dated Washington, D. C., September 13th, 1869, as follows:

“II. It is hereby ordered in accordance with Sec. 9, Art. VI., of the Revised Rules and Regulations, that the National Council of Administration convene in special meeting on the fourth Wednesday of October proximo, at 12 o'clock noon, in the city of New York.

“III. The National Council of Administration having, through a majority of its members, approved, by letter, of the recommendation of the Committee, appointed by the National Encampment to examine into the practicability of organizing a scheme of co-operative life insurance for the Grand Army—namely, to call an extra session of the National Encampment, it is hereby ordered that a special meeting of the National Encampment assemble on the fourth Wednesday of October proximo, 12 o'clock noon, in the city of New York.

“The following subjects will be submitted for action by this special meeting—viz.:

“1. The extension of time for muster beyond the first day of September to old comrades.

“2. To adopt or reject the report of the committee appointed to look into the practicability of connecting a life insurance plan with the Grand Army of the Republic.

“3. To adopt a badge, commission, and certificate of membership for the organization.

“4. To consider several other subjects of importance which will be brought before the Encampment.”

Great stress was laid in this General Order upon the importance of this joint meeting of the two highest powers

of the Order. Every subject for consideration fed my desire to attend that Council. I thought I saw a means of preventing a disintegration of the Order, by adopting insurance. The extension of time for muster was also imperative, and if it was possible to put it off without a limit, by making it essential to have every man insured, so much the better. The fourth object, "to consider several other subjects," determined my purpose to be there, for I concluded, if extraordinary power could be used, as it had been in several instances, it could be used again, though my convictions then were that the Council would be asked to pronounce upon and confirm the rigid rule that had been prescribed for reorganization.

The "Circular" concluded with this paragraph:

"Though a sufficient sum is in the Treasury to defray the expenses of the Commander and Inspector-General to this National Encampment, yet he prefers to secure the credit of the Department at National Headquarters by payment thereto from this fund of dues and accounts than by appropriating this money. Therefore, upon consultation with Department officers, this Circular is issued to Posts and comrades to act in the premises as they may think best, by remitting whatever amount they may please. Reorganized Posts are requested to send to the Assistant Adjutant-General whatever suggestions they desire, upon the subject matter before the Encampment, that the Commander may have the benefit of their wishes in the Council.

"By order of the Commander,

"M. G. McLAIN, "O. M. WILSON,

"Assistant Adjutant-General."

I went to this Council as Department Commander. I think I was the only representative from our State. The Department of Indiana was again honored in having her Commander chosen the presiding officer of the Council, on motion of Adjutant-General N. P. Chipman, who prefaced his motion with the statement that "he was entitled to the distinction by reason of being the Senior Grand Army man in the Council and Order." I have given his words exactly as uttered, because they were significant then, and may be now, coming from the source they did, for Chipman always recognized Indiana as having first established a *de facto* organization.

It became my duty, as presiding officer, to appoint the several committees. The Committee on Badge was thus appointed. Their recommendation was adopted. It is the badge worn to-day, with one or two minor changes since made.

The gentleman bringing forward the insurance scheme proved in almost a breath that no single session of a Council could consider a proposition that involved the machinery and expense it required for introduction, and the members soon saw, and, seeing, wearied with the details of a bubble so colossal, and on motion the whole subject was referred to a committee with power to act along the lines suggested—to obtain a Charter from Congress, *if thought advisable*. The Commander-in-chief was, on motion, made chairman of this committee. There was some quiet censure for permitting this scheme to be brought into the Grand Army councils. The plan was to tack it, obligations and all, on to the Ritual.

The declaration made at the Cincinnati Encampment was re-affirmed, in this, that the members of the Order who should re-muster should be entitled to the third degree—that of Veteran.

Thus, again, by resolution was the Ritual to be enforced, as follows:

“That all comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, made such under the old organization prior to the 1st day of November, 1869, and not in violation of the qualifications prescribed by Art. IV., Chap. 1, Revised Rules and Regulations, shall be eligible to the third degree of the present organization upon taking the several obligations; Provided, they shall be in good standing in their several Posts and Departments, and free from all dues at the time of their application; and, provided further, that all comrades and Posts of the organization, who, having had the opportunity, shall willfully neglect or refuse to make application for membership under the new organization on or before the 31st day of December, 1869, shall be deprived of the privilege accorded by this resolution; and, provided further, that all other comrades of Posts not last above described shall make application for membership under the new organization on or before the next regular meeting of the National Encampment.”

The assumption and unalloyed, sublimated arrogance of the few gentlemen constituting this Council needs no headlight for an exposition of their purpose; it is in the resolution. I denied and repudiated the doctrine that the Grand Army “made a comrade”; that his membership depended

upon making a new application; that this body had the power, right, or authority to prejudge a comrade for his refusal to make such application within a certain time, after which he should be excluded; and that all other comrades, not members, must accept these imperialistic conditions by a certain time, or be forever barred.

The spirit of the resolution was aimed at chiefly western Departments, notably Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Kentucky. But few of these States were represented according to my memory now.

The action of the body denoted this one purpose—to wipe out the organization of 1866 that a few chosen spirits might build up a new Order upon its ruins. How or upon what principles it was not declared. The strength of the Order had proven to be in the West. National Headquarters, with Colonel Timothy Lubey as Quartermaster-General, contracting for and controlling all supplies, found an obstacle and a troublesome one, in the Department of Indiana, that was able, and preferred, to furnish its own Posts with all supplies without charge.

There were many and serious conflicts in this Council and out of it, waged against the States mentioned, for not supporting National Headquarters, and it accordingly became necessary to destroy their power. We did not want the Revised Ritual; the East did; it loved the “pomp and circumstance” of parade better than we did. Another contention was, so far as the Department of Indiana was concerned, against sustaining National Headquarters with a printing bureau, and the demands made upon us for an

assessment that never was, and never could be, in the nature of things, collected after the edict of exclusion had been promulgated in National Orders.

General Foster had not attended any of these Encampments or Councils, and I was compelled, generally, to stand alone in all the struggles of 1867, '68 and '69, especially in this Council.

The other "subjects of importance" were various and many; chiefly, however, that one whereby members could be held in the Order. There were advocates of the Ritual, and others who said they doubted "if it would work." General Shaw, its chief advocate, and chairman of the Ritual Committee, suggested a plan he thought would interest and unite the comrades, and hold them in the organization. This plan was, that members should be chosen by their Posts to present at stated times a paper on some experience, event, or incident of their service. To be sure, this suggestion met no opposition, and it afterwards became the subject of General Order, No. 6, dated Washington, November 4th, 1869. But this Order never became effective in the West, at least, because of the practical character of the organization.

In this Council I was asked by General Shaw how the grade had been received in Indiana. I did not hesitate to say that I had never been in sympathy with this Ritual, as General Shaw well knew, we being on the Ritual Committee together; that this Ritual with its three degrees had overshot its purpose, that of uniting the men; that instead of bringing the soldiers together within a certain boundary, according to their services, it made it possible for everyone

to reach the grade of Veteran by simply joining the association, so that if his service did not entitle him to any such distinction, the Grand Army, by leveling the highest to the grade of the lowest, and calling by name a title his service did not justify, made him such by this Ritual. If he was not a Veteran in war, this Order could make him such by calling him one, by simply a paper declaration, whether or not he had borne the heat and burden of the days of 1861 and 1865. Many good and worthy comrades objected to this process of leveling up as a Veteran, even by name, the man who never got decently far enough to the front to be baptized in an engagement. To be sure, there were soldiers by virtue of their muster as such. At the same time I would not be understood as detracting from their patriotism and willingness to meet any order and obey any command, but if the fortunes of war did not take them to the front, or, if at the front, did not lead them into action, there could not be that entire supreme fellowship of comradeship with those who had felt the heat and passion of battle. If we must have degrees, this line was not properly drawn. There was an indifference among my comrades to remuster, for it can not be denied that during the war there was a broad distinction between many men, simply called soldiers, and a Veteran, that denoted he had been tried in action.

It may seem strange that these sentiments met with a hearty approval, in the face of the "resolution" the Council had adopted. Some explained, saying, "Wait and see." Others said, "We're all on a common level." "Then why," I asked, "do we need a Ritual of grades? We never recog-

nized one above the other in Indiana of those who had an honorable discharge. We stand on the common platform 'as soldiers.' If the sentiment of comradeship can't hold men together, no Ritual can." Because, I declared, the General Order dismissing, suspending, and discharging any comrade from the fellowship of the Order, under and in pursuance of any resolution of instruction to the Commander-in-chief putting in force this Ritual, or for any purpose whatsoever, was unconstitutional and void; that any additional or supplementary provision of power, not expressly given in the Constitution, that was imposed, assumed, or exercised by this or any other Encampment by resolution to enforce the written work of the Order, was unwarranted, unsoldierly, illegal, and revolutionary, and without precedent; that such resolution and General Order could not take from a comrade his right of fellowship, nor work a forfeiture of his membership in the Order, nor exclude him from the privileges of the Order; that by his own act only could he be denied the right of affiliation, other things being equal.

Because, I say, for these declarations I was regarded in almost open rebellion, then it was that either General Chipman or General Whitaker, of Connecticut—I forget which one it was—spoke up: "I believe it's a fact, ain't it, Wilson, that you Western men don't care a damn for ceremony?" "But you always get there," piped in my insurance friend. Whitaker was one of the men I instructed at Pittsburg. He knew, probably as well as anyone, the spirit that moved the "army" in the campaigns of 1866 and 1868. There was not a comrade who took the obligation at Indiana

Headquarters at Pittsburg, who was in this Council, but felt what I said to be true. They admitted that the Grand Army, as then conceived and organized, was a powerful political Juggernaut. They remembered, too, that at that time the condition of the country demanded that the men who stood together in war should now stand together in peace—that peace might be preserved and perpetuated. In the nature of things it could not be otherwise. President Johnson had made his “break” with Congress and the “party” that had carried him into power was the party that sustained the soldier in the war. His apostasy naturally roused them to bitter denunciation, and they turned one to the other to find the same feeling of fellowship and resolve with desire for loyal expression as they felt when in the army as soldiers. The smell of powder had not yet got out of their clothes, and they found in this organization—so far as Indiana was concerned—all they could desire for political faith. [And here I feel it my duty to digress for a statement. The soldiers naturally resented disloyalty from any and every source, of whatever phase, whether to the flag, the laws of the land, or “the powers that be.” But it was not only the soldier, but the loyal sentiment of the North that resented an insult, come from whatever source. When, therefore, President Johnson, “swung around the circle,” he invited opprobrium, if not attack, from the loyal masses. At Indianapolis he met with rebuke—a stormy one, even dangerous. It was called by Johnson’s allies a “mob.” The Grand Army was charged with inciting this tumult. It was simply a spontaneous gathering of people to see the man

who could "turn his coat," as Johnson had. He wanted to speak; they did not want to hear him. He insisted, they persisted, and in good nature prevented him from delivering his "copy of the Constitution," as revised by him. To be sure, soldiers were there, as a part of the commonwealth of Indiana. They were not armed, nor did they come there for trouble. But when one man standing near me hollered "Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" then trouble began; and if confession will do any good for the soul for righteous deeds done in the flesh, then I now here confess that I broke my cane over that fellow's head, and whether from force of the blow, or what not, he sought fresh air on the edge of the crowd. Then a shot came, and Stewart fell. In a moment's time the officers had the murderer in their clutches; one whom I remember, Pryor Devol, commanded myself and Major John N. Scott, standing by me, to assist in "taking this man to jail." We felt bound to obey. It was a struggle to get him there. I walked to the left, and sometimes to the front of Devol, telling the enraged men to "keep back; let the law take its course." Scott and I brought up other comrades to the assistance of these officers, one of whom was Hi Minnick.

It was a fearful night. After this shooting, then it was you could have called that crowd a "mob"—if *Johnson had again appeared*. But I want to say for the truth of history, the Grand Army, as an organization, had no more to do with this assembling than the Pope of Rome!

Whitaker and others who took the obligation from Indiana were not disposed to take from us any prestige. They

understood that we sought for and organized this Order for what it was, and for what we might accomplish with it. There was no effort at concealment. They knew that Stephenson, Webber, and Mather had said to us, the "Hoosiers could put it on its feet," because we "had a Morton in the campaign." How, then, could it have been otherwise than political?

And after two long, hot campaigns, both having popular soldiers for leaders, Baker for governor and Grant for President, and having elected them and thus realizing the advantage of organization as a body of soldiers, it is not difficult to understand the effect such a change would produce, as now made in the Ritual and the "resolutions." They saw that such innovation did not contemplate the continuance of the plain, simple organization we started with, and which had united the "boys" to cheer together again for the old flag. We thought *that* was Ritual enough. If the Order did not respond to National Headquarters just as others thought we should, it cannot be said we did not respond to our duty in Indiana, for which we were organized. That was our paramount duty.

If now, therefore, this aggregation of soldiers was to be directed in another channel than that which had been "cut" in Indiana, it should have been given the opportunity to study the approaches to what was suddenly made a transformation scene, from camp-fire to the more solemn observance of forms and ceremonies that had no place in the soldier's life.

There is no question that the Order by this time had taken on a semi-moral-sanctimonious garb of charitable righteousness, and made to appear other than what its then Constitution provided it was and should be. This was shown in the discussion of the Declaration of Principles in the Philadelphia Encampment. The fact is, we had never placed any tenet above political necessity, and many of our comrades had no other knowledge of the purpose of the Order than to maintain the results of the war, through the great political party that had stood for the country. So that when it was sought to place another interpretation upon the cardinal tenets of the Order, whereby polities should be ignored, in words as well as deeds, many concluded the mission of the Grand Army of the Republic had been accomplished, and they were not in a frame of mind to accept any formula, or subscribe to any doctrine or rule that prescribed other methods for preserving the fellowship of army life than those formed in the field and trench, in bivouac and battle. If such ties of friendship could not muster the "boys" at a "camp-fire," a ceremony that never entered into any part of the soldier's life could not do so.

Not only in our own, but this condition and sentiment prevailed in other States. My correspondence with General Thomas L. Young, of Ohio, Colonel Fairleigh, of Louisville, Ky., General A. W. Dennison, of Baltimore, General Webber, of Springfield, Ill., General J. B. McKeen, of New York, and others indicated that they were working along the same lines, and generally with the same success. It was from fear for the campaign of 1868 that led a number of Depart-

ment officers to meet in that conference in Philadelphia to prevent the disaster of a dissolution of the Order in Hurlbut's hands.

The Order was considered a political necessity, and, knowing this, those who participated in that conference opposed any change in the Declaration of Principles. Thus it may be seen there was an "irrepressible conflict" in the Order, one that could not possibly, under the present condition, be assuaged by the introduction of degrees, to receive which a member must remuster under a new and formal application for membership. In other words, there must and was ordered to be an entire reorganization. At this time the Order in Indiana was strong—too strong to be seriously affected, for it drew closer together and worked more effectually from strong centers. So long as there was no peremptory order denying our right to conduct the organization as we had done, we continued along the lines laid down by the original Constitution in the broadest spirit of Fraternity, exercising the spirit of unlimited charity in very many ways and promoting to an unexampled degree a spirit of loyalty for the success of the Republican party. If, therefore, what we had done brought success and prosperity as we were, why change?

It was not until November 4th, 1869, that National Headquarters promulgated the proceedings of this Council. Despite this order, and the force of the preceding orders, there were a few who desired, if possible, to meet all requirements to retain a membership in the organization, but protested against a reorganization. Whatever they did, this

was an inevitable condition, and there was not sufficient support in many localities to revive sufficient interest to re-establish a Post. The few Posts that lived existed more in form than by practical effort. The great organization in Indiana had about dissolved. I do not recall a single prayer for success, nor a single word of reproach. The inevitable was not denied, nor sought to be avoided. What existed was by the grace of a few men who stood for the principle that required no king for ruler nor Pope to bless the fellowship of men, comrades in war. The few remaining Posts that existed under these conditions sent their delegates to the 5th State Encampment where my successor, Surgeon Lewis Humphreys, of South Bend, was, on January 5th, 1870, chosen Department Commander. It was with sorrow, yet with a feeling of relief and the consciousness of duty arduously and faithfully performed that I relinquished the command of the Department, after four years of service to build up and maintain for my comrades this great brotherhood. I know Colonel Humphreys made an effort to hold together the few remaining Posts. What the Department strength was, we have no means of knowing, since as mentioned the records were in his administration destroyed by fire.

Having been chosen at this 5th State Encampment a delegate to the National Encampment that convened at Washington, May 11th, 1870, my last work in the Order, as heretofore mentioned, was the effort, with other comrades, notably General Lucius Fairchild, of Wisconsin to elect General Schenck, of Ohio, Commander-in-chief. Though Indiana was delinquent for reports, I was given a place in

this Encampment. Here the murmurs against the new Ritual and Regulations adopted at Cincinnati, May, 1869, became so emphatic and pronounced that the dissolution of the Order was predicted, unless the whole system was at once abrogated and annulled. Modifications were made to such an extent that the mere concession thus far gained by the enemies of the grade system indicated that in another year it would be entirely abolished. And so it was, but the seeds of discontent had been sown, and the fruit was that of the Upas tree. Posts hitherto brilliant and strong went down, until, under the influence of General Order, No. 1, May 22d, 1869, Circular No. 1, June 25th, 1869, and General Order, No. 4, July 21st, 1869, the soldiers of not only Indiana, but other States were driven out of fellowship with the Order. After two years of ineffectual effort to establish this ill-fated Ritual it was set aside in 1871. But the blight had fallen on many who have never re-entered the Grand Army. Our soldiers had already been notified they were no longer considered members of the Order. Instead of following the overthrow of this Ritual with an order as generous as the other was harsh and re-establishing the relation of comrades who had, without fault or cause on their part, been so ruthlessly set aside, and the wrong then and there undone, and these comrades not have been required to re-muster as though they had never stood an affiliated member of the Order, it was permitted to stand, in mockery of the noblest effort made by man to organize and cement a brotherhood, that never had a parallel among a people, because there is *but one comradeship, and that is the comradeship of army life,*

*and such as that formed in the Civil War finds no ties as strong as those that knit the souls of men, on the march, in the bivouac, or on the field of battle.*

Upon surrendering my duties as Department Commander, I submitted the following report:

“The duties of Commander of this Department were assumed by me when there had ceased to be manifested any further interest in our Order, as it was then constructed, but there being a hope that something would be done by the National Encampment then soon to meet, by which the Grand Army would pass into a purer and higher state of organization. I accepted the trust and waited the issue.

“In due time, the National Encampment assembled, and in its wisdom perfected, as far as possible from the crude matter, a closer bond of brotherhood for the soldiery of the Nation, retaining the name of the Grand Army of the Republic, transforming the Order itself to a higher grade, introducing three degrees and making it truly a fraternal, charitable, and loyal association. The entire change of Ritual and revision of the Constitution made it difficult to many comrades to realize that anything of a superior character could emanate from that which was crude, incomplete, and unsatisfactory, and time revealed the fact that what was considered easy in the beginning was difficult to overcome in the end—namely, prejudice against the Order for capacity to do good.

“With this Order in this Department, a complete chaotic state existed with few, if any, to lend a hearty encouragement. I endeavored to put the new machinery to work.

In June last, by order from National Headquarters, the Commanders of western Departments with their Assistant Adjutants and Inspector-Generals, were directed to meet the Adjutant-General at Chicago to receive full instructions in the unwritten as well as the written work. The Commander and Adjutant-General and Inspector-General were there and duly instructed.

“By degrees Posts in the very best localities in the State were established. Though few, their character justifies the assumption that the Order is permanently lodged, and will, with proper encouragement, continue to increase and prosper. The restrictions imposed upon the admission of comrades to the new work by the National Encampment, involving much dissatisfaction and an apparent lethargy, a special session of the National Encampment was called to assemble in New York city on the 27th day of October, 1869. . . .

“You have been made acquainted with every step taken in the National Encampment by its orders, as well as in this Department by its orders, and everything that has transpired since the beginning of the last Commandership. There has been, indeed, little to do other than keeping in close touch and companionship with the Posts, and receiving from them their reports. When our comrades can be brought to the proper appreciation of our Order, and a true realization of its character, they will not wonder that the Grand Army of the Republic of 1869-70 is so different in its composition and material from what it was in 1866-68, when its door stood wide open, bidding for all soldiers to enter therein, without qualification as to character or morals—only com-

radeship. Not so now. He who would claim fellowship with our Order of to-day must come to it with a full understanding of the responsibility he has assumed, and in the faith of a true soldier he must stand true, and if faithful, his reward will be great and his fellowship beloved. The fraternity of our association assures our comrades that they are not forgotten. Our charity enfolds the Christian virtues, and the better ways of life, seeking to mould them into one pervading sentiment and emotion alike for the living and the dead. Our loyalty seals that bond of unity to one country and one flag and makes us a brotherhood unlike all others, but with an aim higher than all.

“O. M. WILSON,

“Commander Department Indiana,

“Indianapolis, January 5th, 1870.”

I know I was criticised for this “parting word,” but I answered: “Nowhere have I surrendered my principles. I have asserted only what is claimed. Otherwise I assert what I know to be true, and characteristic of the soldier.”

Lest there be men to-day who may have forgotten the underlying force of the Grand Army of the Republic as given to and conducted in Indiana in 1866, '67, '68, '69, let me quote a few sentences from the old first Ritual. The comrade was asked upon initiation if he was “prepared to take an obligation to sustain the cause of your country . . . with your arms, your voice, and your *vote*”; then this language in the obligation administered which embraced not only every patriotic but every moral obligation and duty: that he would “sustain for all offices of trust and profit, other

things being equal, at all times, the citizen soldier of the Republic." And this is the charge by the Post Commander: "Instead of choosing for our rulers honest, upright, and capable men, whose actions were guided by the welfare of their country, we have too frequently honored those who labored for self-interest, and had no sympathy for the people; hence the late terrible rebellion. To prevent *like recurrence in the future, this army has been enlisted. . . . Place soldiers and only loyal men in office, and treason will hide its hideous head.*"

I venture no truer, nobler sentiment than contained in the old Ritual can be found in the range of inspiration for faith and deeds. The men who took that obligation were those who answered their country's call to arms in 1861: men who could build bridges, drain swamps, cut down forests, and turn rivers, as well as march with the weight of accoutrements and eighty rounds of ammunition; men of the office, the workshop, and the plow; men who could mend their own clothes, repair their own guns, and construct their own tents; men who became as familiar with the sword and bayonet as they were with the axe and spade; men skillful on horse, who did not halt at a river, or stand awed at a mountain; men who fought as heroes, who had wives, children, and family altars; men who met dangers as immortals, and overcame them; men of sagacity, tactful, impetuous in assault, of intrepid courage; men who marched under a burning sun, or under the stars, indifferent to the ground upon which they would find the enemy of their flag. Cool and deliberate in council; calm and collected amidst every

danger, brave in battle, noble, generous, active, and humane, they were worthy of the cause, and the cause was worthy of them. Do such men require the sentiment of a Ritual for fellowship?

We were not different from our comrades elsewhere, but our environment was different. We met conditions, the nebulae of which was the encrusted treason in the Knights of the Golden Circle. But we wanted no ceremony by which to express our loyalty to the flag. The comrade felt that he stood the symbol in that economy of forces from which a people had drawn their prosperity and greatness. He, better than all others, could teach the true lesson of the war. Though his flag and guidon had been folded away, and the old musket and carbine and saber were being run into "plowshares and pruning-hooks," and all that was left him was the memory of his comradeship with all its brilliant deeds and heroic sacrifices of the days of 1861 and '65, he was not willing to accept any substitution for this fellowship. He had proven that the man who loves his country with the fervor of a patriot takes his chance to die for it in fighting for the principles underlying that patriotism that has its strongest revelation in actual war. When he went to the front, he took his chances for life in carrying out his convictions of right and duty. Such men are the exponents of a faith that leads up to a higher type of manhood than is generally found in that class who are constantly intruding themselves or their opinions among men as leaders of parties; a class who more often mistake the true worth of men, because measured by their own small souls.

These comrades of earnest, positive convictions did not hesitate to express them in acts. It was this kind of patriotism that dissolved all differences of political opinions among the soldiers of Indiana, and united them to sustain the laws of their country; that gave to them in return its gratitude and bounty. It was this kind of patriotism that withdrew from all alliances that required a new creed to make comradeship among soldiers. It was enough that this comradeship should meet the conditions of good-fellowship in service and an honorable discharge. No tie could possibly be stronger. No ceremony could impress the old soldier with greater love for a comrade. Had these conditions been permitted to exist as all sufficient, in their simple and unaffected form, the Grand Army of the Republic would embrace in membership a body of men whose very presence together would be an object lesson, to be carried in the minds of generations to come, as men knit together as soldiers of the Civil War, not by the bauble of ritualism, no part of which entered into their soldier life. Their membership with Posts can give them no special distinction; yet all the distinction some have, or could get as soldiers, is given them by such membership—in being thus brought in contact with men who need no such affiliation to make for them the name as soldier or sustain their record as such.

Good-fellowship is what the soldier first desired, and this could be had only by those who had made a record in service. We all know that a soldier who has seen service can prove himself, and that one who attempts to make a record is quickly detected as an impostor, provided the muster-rolls

can be had showing the service of the regiment or command. It does not need, therefore, any organization to protect the soldier from an impostor. While an "honorable discharge" is a worthy badge of honor, it is not every discharge that has for its support service in the field. And it is because there is a class found in high places whose record of service does not connect them with service at the front, that many prefer to seek their companionship among Veterans, whose life with its war infirmities gives evidence of that proper sympathy felt by every soldier, because he knows what it was, to sustain with him the relation of comradeship.

When, therefore, methods were sought to color this life with pomp of display and ceremonious exactions, to enable the soldier to sustain the relation of fraternity by a ceremony that could not add to the glory of his achievements, nor give him a greater prestige than he had deservedly won; when it was sought to enforce "charity" along other lines than those which every honorable instinct that could ennoble man, led him naturally to observe, without reservation or hesitation, then it was that he "halted" and asked whether his loyalty and service now demanded of him a creed that was not written for his guidance in war, nor to sustain him in fellowship with the only men who are entitled by the kind of service they rendered to the title "Comrade."

Two-thirds of the soldiers of the Civil War now living to-day are not in affiliation with the Grand Army of the Republic, simply because the original plan of the organization has been changed from the broad open door of good-fellowship to a close and secret conclave that brings no such boon

to the Veteran as the old camp-fires of 1866 did, at which 'every "boy" who wore the blue stood, and with as big a heart and soul as though he were fed with all the sentimental sanctity of ritualistic observance and lodge-room prayers.

I was always opposed to the idea of building up the Grand Army of the Republic with a sentiment born of conflict. The soldier's life had sufficient interest without the aid of any artificial light to glorify it. The men who first handled this organization regarded certain tenets as the physician did the preparation of certain pills—it was necessary to sugar-coat them to get them down. There are men living to-day who know how vital it was in 1866 and 1868 to sustain the party in power that carried the country through the war; and they know, too, that in Indiana, Illinois, and some other States, that conditions existed that tended by ties of family, party associations and otherwise, to influence the soldier and alienate them from the faith that governed them in the service; and though political affinities were the chief aim, charity and fraternity were also made cardinal tenets that would hold fast many, and thus also preserve political supremacy indirectly as an incident.

True, charity and fraternity were principles, worthily bestowed and asserted in those days, because the heart of the "boy" was mellow then, and there existed many cases for the fulfillment by him of the law. But such conditions disappeared as the years passed, and to-day there is no need of organized "charity" among the veterans. The Government has provided, most royally, homes for the feeble and aged comrade, and he lives now in the mellow years of mem-

ory, to look back upon those days when his loins were strong, his step firm, his eye clear, and his strength sufficient to endure the ordeal of a soldier's life. His life now is best in the fellowship of his comrades, that fellowship only that was found at the "camp-fires," in the "bivouac," on the "march," on "skirmish line and in battle." Whatever will make peaceful this life, whatever will give zest to these memories, he will promote as his supreme right and privilege to enjoy.

It is in memory of those days, and the association with my comrades, in the field, and peaceful walks of life after the war, with whom I helped win for our native State the record she made in war, and in peace, that I am led to write these pages, with the desire that they be understood, and "naught be set down in malice against them," because they refused to accept any other methods to perpetuate ties of fellowship than those of comradeship, which their Anglo-Saxon blood twisted in a scarlet line of flame on many battle-fields of the Civil War.

OLIVER M. WILSON.

Kansas City, Mo., March, 1901.



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## In Memoriam.

Since writing these pages, the life of Major-General Robert Sandford Foster has been closed—summoned by the Great Commander to eternity and the companionship of the celestials. He stood in life for the best, the truest, the highest of earth's offerings. He walked among his fellows with an upright step, courteous, respectful, honestly obedient to and serving the noblest impulses given mankind to enjoy, with signal patriotic ardor through the Civil War, and a conscientious observance of the precepts of divine law, and the statutes for man's government.

He died a good citizen, a soldier, an uncrowned king. In the fullness of time, of all that ennobles a life, there is no blemish to mar, no stain to tarnish, no shadow to cloud, no act to dishonor the chivalry of the knightly manhood of "Sandy" Foster as he entered the kingdom of heaven.

"Taps" here for him were caught up in the echoing notes of the "reveille" there, and the soul awakened with the same kindly smile and friendly hand to say "Good-morning."

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*THE INDIANA STATE SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS'  
MONUMENT AT INDIANAPOLIS.*

*Height 280 feet; diameter base of shaft, 25 feet; diameter of pedestal, 54 feet;  
diameter of terrace and steps, 196 feet, 6 inches. Cost, including elevator, stair-  
way and statuary, \$400,000.00.*



APPENDIX I.

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
GRAND ARMY  
OF THE  
REPUBLIC.



1866

BOWNEY & BROOKS, BUNNERS.



CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

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ARTICLE I.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

SECTION 1. The Soldiers and Sailors of the Volunteer Army and Navy of the United States, during the rebellion of 1861-5, actuated by the impulses and convictions of patriotism and of eternal right, and combined in the strong band of fellowship and unity by the toils, the dangers and the victories of a long and vigorously waged war, feel themselves called upon to declare, in definite form of words and in determined co-operative action, those principles and rules which should guide the earnest patriot, the enlightened freeman and the Christian citizen of the Republic, in his course of action; and to agree upon those plans and laws which should govern them in a united and systematic working method; with which, in some measure, shall be effected the preservation of the grand results of the war, the fruits of their labor and toil, so as to benefit the deserving and worthy.

SEC. 2. The results which are designed to be accomplished by this organization are as follows:

1st.—The preservation of those kind and fraternal feelings which have bound together, with the strong cords of love and affection, the comrades in arms of many battles, sieges and marches.

2d.—To make these ties available in works and results of kindness, of favor and material aid to those in need of assistance.

3d.—To make provision where it is not already done, for the support, care and education of soldiers' orphans, and for the maintenance of the widows of deceased soldiers.

4th.—For the protection and assistance of disabled soldiers; whether disabled by wounds, sickness, old age, or misfortune.

5th.—For the establishment and defense of the late soldiers and sailors of the United States, morally, socially and politically with a view to inculcate a proper appreciation of their services to the country and to a recognition of such services and claims by the American people.

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## ARTICLE II.

### QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Recruits presented for enlistment in the Grand Army of the Republic shall be honorably discharged soldiers or sailors of the United States Volunteer or Regular Army or Navy, and shall exhibit their discharges on enlistment, or shall produce satisfactory evidence of having been

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honorable discharged. No soldier or sailor, who has been convicted by court-martial of desertion, or any other infamous crime, shall be eligible to membership.

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ARTICLE III.

ORGANIZATION.

SECTION 1. This association shall be composed of National, State, County and Precinct organizations, and shall be called The Grand Army of the Republic.

The National Organization shall be known as the Grand Army of the Republic.

The State Organization shall be known as Department of (\_\_\_\_\_) [Name of State.]

The County Organization shall be known as District of (\_\_\_\_\_) [Name of County.]

The Precinct organization shall be known as Post No.\_\_\_\_\_, of (\_\_\_\_\_) [Name of city, town, township, ward or precinct.]

SEC. 2. The officers of the Grand Army of the Republic shall be one Commanding officer, one Adjutant General, one Assistant Adjutant General and one Quartermaster General. This body shall be composed of two delegates from each Department. Two alternates shall, also, be elected from each department.

SEC. 3. The officers of each Department shall be one Department Commander, one Adjutant General, one Assistant Adjutant General, and one Quartermaster General. This body shall be composed of

one delegate from each District of the Department, and shall meet once a year and may have special meetings, when ordered by the Department Commander; the Council of Administration concurring.

SEC. 4. The officers of each District shall be one District Commander, one Assistant Adjutant General and one District Quartermaster. This body shall be composed of one delegate for every ten members of the Army in the District, and shall have general supervision of the Posts and the establishment of new Posts in the District.

SEC. 5. The officers of each Post shall be one Post Commander, one Adjutant and one Quartermaster.

SEC. 6. The duties of Commanding officers shall be essentially those of a Presiding officer, and in the absence of the Commanding officer, the members present in camp shall select a member to perform his duties *pro tempore*.

SEC. 7. The duties of the Adjutant Generals, their Assistants and Adjutants shall be essentially those of a Secretary.

SEC. 8. Quartermasters shall perform the duties usually appertaining to a Treasurer and shall have general supervision of all accounts and disbursements.

SEC. 9. Officers of the Day, Officers of the Guard, Orderlies and such other officers as are necessary for the transaction of business, shall be detailed by the commanding officer.

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**ARTICLE IV.**

**COUNCIL OF ADMINISTRATION.**

**SEC. 1.** There shall be annually elected by the members of the Grand Army of the Republic and of each Department and District, a committee of five persons, who shall be called the Council of Administration.

**SEC. 2.** The Council of Administration shall have charge of the working interests of the army; may propose plans; may specify objects of charity; may make contracts, subject to a vote of the camp with which they are connected, and shall approve of all bills and accounts presented by the Quartermaster, before they are paid.

**ARTICLE V.**

**DUES AND REVENUE.**

**SEC. 1.** Each member of the Army of the Republic shall pay not less than one dollar on enlistment to the Quartermaster of the Post where he is enlisted.

**SEC. 2.** There shall be collected, by the Post Quartermaster, from each member, the sum of not less than five cents per week.

**SEC. 3.** There shall be transmitted to the Quartermaster General of the Department, at the end of each month, twenty-five per cent. of all receipts of each post, from fees and dues. These amounts

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shall constitute the fund of the army, for incidental expenses, and for carrying out the objects and aims of the army.

SEC. 4. Disbursements of money from the Department Treasury, in behalf of any of the objects of the Grand Army of the Republic, shall be made only after a vote in favor of such disbursements, from two-thirds of the District Encampments. Incidental expenses and salaries shall be paid on the order of the Department Commander.

SEC. 5. In cases where individual charities demand more funds than are in the treasury of a Post, application may be made to Department Headquarters, for assistance.

SEC. 6. Army Headquarters may assess their incidental expenses on Department Headquarters, and District Encampment may assess sufficient funds for its incidental expenses on the posts in such district.

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ARTICLE VI.

REPORTS.

SEC. 1. A monthly report shall be made direct to the Adjutant General of the Department, by the Commander of each Post, attested by the Adjutant, of the number of members at last report, and the number of new members, and the number who have ceased to belong; together with a statement on the condition and working prospects of the Post, and a record of their proceedings for the month.

SEC. 2. The Post Quartermaster shall make his monthly report direct to the Quartermaster General of the Department; transmitting the funds required by section 3, of article 5, of this Constitution.

SEC. 3. The District Commander shall send to the Adjutant General of the Department, a report of each monthly meeting at District Headquarters, with the result of their action.

SEC. 4. The Department Commander shall send an annual report to the Adjutant General of the Grand Army of the Republic, of all the operations in his Department; combining the reports of the Adjutant General and Quartermaster General.

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## ARTICLE VII.

### CHARTER.

SECTION 1. No Post shall be recognized by any of the members of the Grand Army of the Republic, unless regularly established by orders from Department Headquarters, and chartered by the Department Commander and Adjutant General.

Applications for a charter must be accompanied by the charter fee of ten dollars.

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## ARTICLE VIII.

SECTION 1. Any failure of any Post, or any other organization of this army, to comply with

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any of the provisions of this Constitution, shall render it liable to forfeiture of its charter and exclusion from the benefits and privileges of members of this army.

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ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1. This Constitution may be amended at any time, by the Grand Army of the Republic, approved by two-thirds of the Department organizations.

APPENDIX II.

REGULATIONS

OF THE

Grand Army of the Republic.



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INDIANAPOLIS:

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1866.



## REGULATIONS.

### OPENING.

At the hour fixed for assembling, the signal—*three taps on the drum*, or other call, will be given, and all the officers present for duty will take their positions, as follows:

*Post Commander*—At the head of the hall.

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—At the opposite end.

*Post Adjutant*—Three paces to the right, and one pace in front of the P. C.

*Post Q. M.*—Three paces to the left, and one pace in front of the P. C.

*Officer of the Day*—One pace to the right, and one pace in front of the P. C.

*Officer of the Guard*—One pace to the right, and one pace to the front of the Sen. Vice P. C. and in charge of the Reserve Post.

*The Sentinel at the Out-post*—Will repair at once to his Post, and secure the main entrance.

*The Sentinel on duty at the Reserve*—Will at the same time secure the inner entrance, and allow no one to enter without the countersign, nor during the opening exercises.

The P. C. will then command, *Attention!* when the roll will be called and each officer will rise in his place, salute and report.

The P. C. will then address the Officer of the Day:

Who are these here assembled?

The Officer of the Day salutes and replies:

This is an encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.

The P. C. answers the salute and inquires:

Are all present duly enlisted soldiers of the Grand Army?

The Officer of the Day replies:

I will at once make the G. R. and report.

The Officer of the Day then commences on the right, makes the round of the camp, receiving the pass from each one present, coming back on the left, salutes and reports:

I find all present to be members of the Grand Army.

The P. C. then commands, *Attention!* when all rise; then, *Parade Rest*, and the Chaplain invokes the Divine Benediction. All in camp, not physically disabled, will remain standing until the conclusion, when, without orders, they will be seated.

The P. C. then says:

This encampment is now open for the discharge of all duties that may come properly before it.

Call for the reports of permanent officers, in the following order:

*Post Adjutant*—conveying proceedings of the previous meeting.

*Post Q. M.*—giving the receipts of the last meeting and disbursements since.

*Committees of Examination*—on the qualification of Recruits.

Balloting on application of candidates reported duly qualified.

#### GUARD MOUNTING.

The P. C. will command:

Let the Assembly be sounded.

The officer of the Guard will then command:

Fall in, Guard.

The Guard, previously detailed, will then fall into line. The O. G. will assign a competent soldier to each prominent post the out-post Sentinel and the Sentinel at the inner entrance—and proceed to relieve the old guard.

The Officer of the Day will, at the same time, pass out beyond the reserve post and the inner entrance of the camp, having a general oversight of the reserve and out-posts, during the process of relieving guard.

Upon arriving at the out-posts, should the Sentinel be found with any prisoners in charge, the O. G. will demand:

Why are these men detained here?

*Sentinel.*—I found them wandering near our lines without the proper pass.

*O. G. to prisoners.*—What was your object in approaching our lines?

*Prisoners.*—A desire to enlist in the Grand Army of the Republic.

*O. G.*—Spies also seek to enter, that they may the better betray.

*Prisoners.*—“We be true men and no spies.” We have already served in the armies of the Republic, and have received an honorable discharge.

(If they are now in the service, the language will be varied to correspond with the facts.)

*O. G.*—We welcome all true soldiers, and if, on examination, we find you qualified according to the regulations of the Grand Army, we will gladly receive you into our ranks. Do you fully understand and heartily sympathize with the objects for which the Grand Army has been enlisted?

*Prisoners.*—We do.

*O. G.*—Are you prepared to take an obligation to sustain the cause of your country at all times—in camp, on the battle-field, or in the more quiet walks of civil life—with your arms, your voice, and your vote, against all her enemies, whether in high or low places? and are you prepared to unite with those who would secure by all proper guarantees the cause for which we risked our lives in the field?

*Prisoners.*—We are thus prepared.

*O. G.*—Guard, conduct these strangers to the Officer of the Day for further examination.

The Guard then marches them to the Officer of the Day, who is found near to and in advance of the Reserve Post. The Sentinel at the out-post is relieved and falls in with the escort.

The O. G., saluting the O. D., reports:

Sir, these men were found by the Sentinel wandering near our out-posts, and seeking admission to our camp. They claim to have been true soldiers of the Union, and desire to enlist in the Grand Army of the Republic.

*O. D.*—Do they know what they seek?

*O. G.*—I have questioned them, and they profess some knowledge of the purposes for which the Grand Army is being mustered, and avow a willingness to assume the obligations of recruits.

*O. D.*—Strangers, you have already expressed a knowledge of and a willingness to take upon you an obligation to sustain the objects of this Grand Army. But, before permitting you to proceed, it is required that you take an obligation of secrecy. Are you now ready to do so?

*Each answers.*—I am.

*O. D.*—You do, each of you, upon your honor as a man and a soldier, and in the presence of these witnesses, your former companions in arms, promise that you will never divulge to any living being any questions that may be asked of you while in this camp, except to a comrade of this Order—anything that you may see or hear while in this camp, and that you will true answers make to all questions that may be asked of you.

*Each replies.*—I do so promise.

The *O. D.* then inquires of each his name, age, present residence, occupation, where born, in what organization he served, and whether he has received an honorable discharge. These answers being satisfactory and sustained by the rolls, the Officer of the Day will say:

You will remain in charge of the Guard, until I report your presence and wishes to the Commandant of this Post and learn what are his farther orders.

The *O. D.* then approaches the inner entrance and instructs an orderly.

Report to the Adjutant that I have in charge former soldiers of the Republic, brave defenders of the American Union, who desire to enlist in the Grand Army of the Republic.

The Orderly turns, salutes and reports from the reserve:

Sir, the O. D. is without the camp, with former soldiers of the Republic, who seek to be enlisted in the Grand Army.

The Post Adjutant turns and salutes P. C. and reports:

Sir, the O. D. has approached the reserve with recruits, who desire to be admitted to our camp, that they may enlist under our banner. Is it your pleasure that they now be admitted?

*P. C.*—Have they been proposed and duly elected?

*Post Adjt.*—They have.

*P. C.*—Have the requirements of your Department been complied with?

*Post Q. M.*—They have.

*P. C.*—You will report to the Officer of the Day, and ascertain if the recruits are properly qualified and prepared for admission.

The P. Adj. goes out to the O. D., salutes, and says:

Sir, I am directed by the Commander of this Post to inquire if you have carefully examined your charge?

*O. D.*—I have.

*P. A.*—Are you satisfied that they have honorably and faithfully served in the armies of the Republic, and received therefrom an honorable discharge?

*O. D.*—I am.

*P. A.*—You will then prepare the recruits for the ceremony of enlistment.

The O. D., turning and saluting the Officer of the Guard, instructs him to prepare the recruits. This is done by divesting them of their coats and hoodwinking them.

The P. A. returns to the P. C., salutes and reports:

Sir, I have complied with your instructions, and the Officer of the Day now awaits your orders.

*P. C.*—Let the alarm be given, and the camp prepared for action.

The drums now sound the long roll, the Post Battalion is formed by the Post Adjutant into two lines, facing each other. The Coffin, with Flag, Bible, and Swords, is placed six paces in front of the *P. C.*, a guard fully accounted for immediately in the rear.

Everything being in readiness, the Post Adjutant saluting, addresses the *P. C.*:

Sir, the camp is prepared.

The *P. C.* returns the salute, and says:

Direct the *O. D.* to enter with his charge.

The *P. A.* goes to the entrance—the door is thrown open—and says:

Sir, the Commander of this Post directs that you immediately conduct your charge before him.

The Officer of the Day then directs the Officer of the Guard to follow with the escort, guiding the recruits; enters the camp and advances to the center of the room, where he is halted by a sentinel on duty. Giving the countersign, he passes around the room, and, arriving in front of the *P. C.*, is halted by a second sentinel. The countersign being found all correct, he passes on, and, arriving in front of the *Sen. Vice P. C.*, is again halted by that officer with:

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—Who comes there?

*O. D.*—Officer of the Day with recruits, on our way to the quarters of the *P. C.*

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—Have these recruits been properly examined and found worthy?

*O. D.*—They have been carefully examined and questioned, and deemed worthy of enlistment.

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—Too much caution can not be observed in the introduction of strangers. The enemy are seeking opportunities to learn our mysteries. But the punishment of

spies and traitors is swift, and their detection sure. What evidence have you that these men are true to our sacred cause?

*O. D.*—Their history is written in our archives, and their answers, on examination, are in accordance therewith. Here is the proof of their honorable service and discharge as shown by the rolls.

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—It is sufficient. You will at once conduct them to the Commandant of the Post. But remember, ever, that *Traitors shall be punished.*

The whole encampment responds:

*The Penalty of Treason is DEATH!*

The *O. D.* then commands, FORWARD, MARCH; conducts the recruits forward past the center of the room, files to the right across the room, near to the coffin, halts them, and the *P. A.* commands:

Attention, guard. Shoulder arms. Ready! Aim!

The *O. D.* commands quickly:

Hold! These are loyal soldiers of the Republic, seeking the quarters of the Commandant of the Post.

The *P. C.* then demands:

Recover arms. Shoulder arms. Order arms.

The *P. A.* then commands:

Whom have you here?

*O. D.*—Sir, I present these men as recruits for enlistment in the Grand Army of the Republic.

*P. C.*—Whence do they come?

*O. D.*—They were found near our outer lines, inquiring the way to our Camp.

*P. C.*—What evidence have you that they are what they claim to be?

*O. D.*—They have taken the test, and passed a satisfactory examination.

*Sen. Vice P. C.*—They have presented a good record, sustained by the evidence of the rolls.

*Post Surgeon.*—They have been carefully examined, and we have pronounced them sound and fit for duty.

*P. C.*—With all these vouchers in your favor, there can be no hesitation in receiving you fully into the ranks of the Grand Army. But before intrusting you with the secrets of our organization, we require of you, as we have required of all; that you take upon you the obligations by which are united in solemn covenant all members of this great association. Having gone thus far, are you willing to proceed?

*Each Recruit.*—I am.

They are then instructed by the Guard to kneel in front of the coffin—place the left hand on the cross-swords and the Bible—raise the right hand, pointing upward. The Post Adjutant will then administer the following oath:

You do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, and these witnesses, your former companions in arms—that you will never, under any pretense, nor for any purpose whatever, make known the secrets of this encampment. That you will never make known, or cause to be made known, either directly or indirectly, any of the pass-words, grips, signs, or any information whatsoever, by which any of the hidden mysteries, work, or ritual, of this band of comrades may be known to the uninitiated. You do further solemnly swear that you will never wrong a soldier or his family, nor suffer others to wrong them, if in your power to prevent it; but that you will, on all occasions, when not inconsistent with the duty you owe to God, your Country, and Yourself, befriend him and his family. That you will, on all occasions, prefer him, or assist him to obtain employment; that, if need be, you will extend the hand of charity, first to him, as one of those by whose side you have fought for your country; that you will sustain for all offices of trust and profit—other things being equal—at all times, the Citizen Soldier

of the Republic. You do further swear that you will be governed by the lawful rules and regulations of this Encampment, and yield implicit obedience to the Encampment of which you may be a member, and to all the lawful rules and orders of the Grand Encampment, to which this is subordinate; and you further promise and declare, that should any books or papers, belonging to this Encampment, come or be placed in your hands, you will neither print nor copy, nor permit to be printed or copied, any part or portion thereof, except by special permission of the Grand Encampment. You do further swear that you take this obligation upon yourself, without any mental reservation or equivocation, under no less a penalty than that of being treated and punished as a *Spy* and *Traitor* by this Order. So help you God, and keep you steadfast. Be firm—be true.

Several voices now exclaim:

Behold the proper reward of the perjured Traitor!

And at the same moment, the heads of the recruits are uncovered, and they see before them, as they kneel, the open coffin, with spade, shovel, and the usual implements used in Military executions; and the Guard drawn up in front, representing a firing party. The Recruits then rise and are addressed by the P. C.:

COMRADES:—You have now, of your own free will and accord, taken upon yourselves the most solemn and binding OATH that it is possible for man to give or receive, and enrolled yourselves in the most powerful Army ever enlisted since the foundation of the World; and it now becomes me, as the Commander of this Post, to explain to you the nature of this organization and the necessities for such an order.

— You were blindfolded for the purpose of calling up vividly to your recollection the dark gloomy days, months, and years of the rebellion—the better to enable you to thank God for his kindness to us as a people, in that, as it were, Egyptian midnight of National darkness. In being caused to march around this Encampment, blindfolded as you were,

it will, no doubt, forcibly remind you of many a lonely midnight hour, in which you groped your way toward the enemy's camp; or, perhaps, bring to your remembrance some horrid scene of some well-contested field after the battle, when you administered to the wants of your dying comrades, when the dark angel of Death was hurriedly closing the last life scene of many a brave soldier, by whose side you fought that day. May God help us to profit by the solemn lessons of the past! You will recall to mind the fact that in 1861, soon after the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as the Chief Executive of this Nation, the traitor's hand was put forth to loosen the fraternal ties of this glorious Union; to break the almost impregnable breastworks of its defenses, and to cause the dark waves of treason so to swell and surge against the bulwarks of our National Capital, as to threaten the entombing of the Union beneath the stygian depths. Then all true men, regardless of party antecedents, were aroused, and the Nation awoke from that "sweet dream of peace" and the fancied security it had enjoyed during nearly a century. Never did a Nation more promptly vindicate the chivalry and prowess of her sons in arms. Never, in the annals of history, was any country so severely, so causelessly tested. Our fathers had demonstrated that man is capable of self-government, and that with a free people, the majority must rule. Our Constitution had secured to us every blessing the human heart has any right to desire in this world. Our Government had spread the broad aegis of its guardianship over every member of its family, and while it secured him from oppression at home, it threw the panoply of its same protection around him when abroad—alike in the Courts of Kings and the hamlets of their subjects.

But, my friends, let us turn from the more gloomy past to the more hopeful and glorious future; and may the solemn scenes which you have just witnessed teach you that great and important lesson of human life, that nothing is left

for us to do but our duty to the living. And while we cherish in fond remembrance the recollection of our martyred comrades, let us pledge ourselves anew to the glorious Union bequeathed us by our Revolutionary fathers; to the wives and children of those who will return to us no more forever; and to the living representatives of the gallant army of the Union, the saviors of the Country.

Instead of choosing for our rulers, honest, upright, and capable men, whose actions were guided by the welfare of their Country, we have too frequently honored those who labored for *self interest*, and had no sympathy with the people; hence the late terrible rebellion. To prevent a like recurrence in the future, this army has been enlisted. The ground we stand upon towers transcendently above all party considerations. Place soldiers and only loyal men in office, and treason will hide its hideous head, no more to be seen and felt in this land.

How many poor maimed soldiers do you see without employment, trying to get a position where they may be able to earn their bread without being compelled to perform hard manual labor, whilst other able-bodied men, who never heard a gun fire, are occupying most of the offices of profit. A soldier can scarcely get employment—there seems to be a conspiracy against him. To remedy this evil is a part of the business of this Order, but not its entire mission.

I will now call your attention to the great and main object of this Order: *The protection and education of families of deceased soldiers.* Of the many hundreds of thousands who went to the field, thousands never returned, but belong to that mighty army of martyred patriots, who paid the forfeit of their heart's blood on the field of battle, or lie buried in the vicinity of some General Hospital. The majority of these departed patriots have families at home who depended entirely on their earnings for support. It is the duty of the people to feed, clothe and educate them. The farmer, me-

chanic, or day laborer, as the case may be, is induced by his devotion to his country to leave his wife and children, and inspired by patriotism, he trusts mother, wife, sister and children to the care of friends, to meet the enemy on the open field. They read of the terrible slaughter and learn that he is among the peaceful DEAD! Their only prop taken from them. This is but a parallel case to those you can find in any city or village. Our organization takes the little ones and gives them a home alike comfortable and respectable, and compels society, not only to do them justice, but to honor and respect them, as children of departed patriots, who fell in defence of our free institutions.

This, my friends, is the principle of the organization to which you have attached yourselves, and may God, the great Commander of all, guard and protect this Order and all its members, and aid us in his infinite wisdom; may he ever assist the Commander of this Post, to so command as will be to the interest of this Nation, which has nursed and protected us with the care and fondness of the mother for her child. May he guide and direct the Commanders of the different Districts and Departments of the United States, so that they will ever have an eye single to the good of mankind, and for the everlasting preservation of our noble institutions.

The P. C. will then proceed, with the assistance of the Adjutant, to instruct the Recruits in the signs and grips—after which the P. C. will say:

Comrades, you have passed through the ceremony of Enlistment and Muster, and now, with pleasure I greet you as Members of the Grand Army of the Republic, and trust you will continue worthy and honored members. You will now take your seats as members of this Encampment.

## CLOSING CEREMONIES.

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*P. C.*—Attention, Post!

Comrades will come to the position of "Attention" and salute.

*P. C.*—Comrades, our labor for this night is done. We part—but only, God willing, to meet again.

*Comrades.*—Amen.

*P. C.*—I now declare this Encampment closed until \_\_\_\_\_ o'clock, next \_\_\_\_\_ evening, when we will again assemble here. Right and Left face. Break Ranks. March!

At the command March, comrades will clap their hands.

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### APPENDIX III.

A committee consisting of Past Department Commanders General R. S. Foster and James R. Carnahan and Comrade William H. Armstrong was authorized by their Department in 1900 to prepare a sketch of the birth and early history of the Grand Army of the Republic in Indiana. This committee made its report to the State Encampment held at Logansport, May, 1901. These comrades participated in the first organization in 1866, and were familiar with every act and event of that time.

From this report I take the following extracts:

“As a historical fact, to the Union soldiers of Indiana is due the credit of breathing the first breath of life into the great soldier organization that was in 1866 christened ‘The Grand Army of the Republic,’ and the actual birth-place of the infant society was in the city of Indianapolis. Four men, two of them yet living, are responsible for the birth of this body of associated and affiliated Union veterans of the Civil War, Dr. B. F. Stephenson, late a major, and surgeon of Volunteers of Illinois, Governor Oliver P. Morton, General R. S. Foster, and Major Oliver M. Wilson, of Indiana. The author of the first Ritual and Regulations was Surgeon B. F. Stephenson, and, as will be seen from the facts herein set forth, with the writing of these two documents his work in the original organization practically ceased.

"The intention of Dr. Stephenson was to bring about an organization of the Union veterans, but the special object or purpose to be attained thereby does not seem to have been very clearly defined in his mind. The material furnished by his Ritual and Constitution was magnificent, but with this material he was unable either to plan and lay the foundation, or rear the superstructure; it was a quarry of splendid but undeveloped stone, for which he needed the master workmen and skillful builders to take it from the mine and work out the plans and adapt them to great and good uses. He found the master mind in Oliver P. Morton, the builder in General R. S. Foster, and his no less efficient assistant, Major Oliver M. Wilson.

"How was this great structure builded, wherein was found the incentive? Two purposes brought about the enthusiasm, and the determination in the mind of Morton to put the work of Stephenson into actual living form and shape. One motive was political, and the other was to unite the energies and work of the Union veterans in a channel that would conduce to their ultimate welfare personally. It was to be a union of interests politically and for their benefit in future legislation. The year of 1866 began with a great political contest, to be waged by the men who had opposed the Union cause on one side, and on the other the men who, like Morton, though not himself an actual soldier, had been a strong tower of strength to Abraham Lincoln and the national arms, and the steadfast and devoted friend of the soldier 'in blue' from 1861 to 1865. Morton had by some means learned of Dr. Stephenson and of his

desire to bring about a soldier organization, and of his failure to attain his desires. It was at first thought that this proposed organization could not be made effective in Indiana. At the request of Governor Morton, General Foster went to Springfield, Illinois, to see and consult with Dr. Stephenson. This was in the month of July, 1866. General Foster's account of his interview with Dr. Stephenson is as follows:

“I called upon Major Stephenson in Springfield, and he took me to his office; he there told me of a Ritual he had written for an ex-Union soldiers' organization, and read portions of it to me from manuscript, explaining the object and plan of the Order.

“I thought it was just what we wanted in Indiana, and so told him. He said he had trouble in getting the “boys” there to take hold of it; that it was a good thing; that he would be glad to have me bring it to Indiana and organize it in our State. He manifested great anxiety and zeal in getting it introduced, and expressed himself as very anxious that we should introduce it in Indiana. He administered to me the obligation of the Ritual for this purpose, and gave me the Constitution and Ritual. He gave me the manuscript of both the Ritual and the Constitution. I brought them to Indiana, and at once communicated with Major Wilson, and fixed a time and place to meet a few chosen comrades to whom I administered the same obligation that I had taken from Major Stephenson from a strip of paper. These comrades became the nucleus for a Department organization—my first charter members. No

commission or warrant was given to me by anyone claiming to be authority in the Order; such an assumption to commission me was never claimed or exercised by Stephenson; I was left to do as I thought best; but after consulting with my comrades—upon giving them the obligation—I was made, by their unanimous vote, Department Commander under the form of the Constitution I had brought from Major Stephenson, and at once commenced the organization of the State. The comrades chosen by me to receive the first muster in the Order, in Indiana were Major Oliver M. Wilson, General Dan Macauley, Colonel William H. Schlater, Colonel Cyrus J. Dobbs, Major J. N. Scott, Captain Eli Ritter, and two or three others whose names are now forgotten. Our names were enrolled upon our Charter, and this was displayed at our headquarters as our authority to organize the Grand Army of the Republic.”

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“When it was found that the soldiers in Indiana were enthusiastic over the organization, and after a good many thousands had been enrolled in Posts, and after a vast amount of printing had been done, General Foster sent Major Wilson to Springfield to consult with Major Stephenson, as to what then was and would be expected of us in pushing the Order to such strength, and beyond the limits of Indiana, for one of General Foster’s aides had stepped over into Michigan and organized one or more Posts in that State. ‘Tell him,’ said Foster, ‘we’ve drawn an elephant.’ ”

“At no time from the time that the first little band of comrades received and took upon themselves the obligation of the Grand Army, read from the original manuscript which General Foster had received from Dr. Stephenson—this in July, 1866—until the first formation of the National Encampment in Indianapolis, November 22, 1866, did General Foster, or any Post, or the Indiana Department report to Dr. Stephenson or any other person or persons outside of the Department of the Indiana Department of the Grand Army of the Republic. . . . There was no badge of the Grand Army of the Republic devised, or made to designate the membership until it was devised by Major Oliver M. Wilson and Captain A. O. Behm, of Indiana, and adopted by the Department of Indiana, and then was manufactured in Lafayette, Indiana.”



## APPENDIX IV.

### ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR CONRAD BAKER, UPON LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE SOL- DIER'S HOME, JULY 4th, 1867.

*"Fellow-Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

"To the joint action of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Trustees of the Soldiers' Home are we indebted for the happy blending of the two patriotic objects which have assembled us here to-day.

"It is meet and proper that the commemoration of the laying of the corner-stone of the grandest political structure that man ever reared or Providence ever blessed should on this day be associated with the laying of the corner-stone of a Home for those who have been disabled in battling to preserve this grand political structure from destruction.

It is also fit and proper that these twin offerings, both sacred to patriotism, should be made under the auspices of an association of citizen-soldiers lately composing a part and still bearing the name of the Grand Army of the Republic.

"But while it is true, as already intimated, that the Declaration of Independence was and is the corner-stone of our national existence, it ought not to be forgotten that this stone was and is built upon and supported by broad and deep pre-existing foundations.

“These foundations, to which I now invite your indulgent attention, consist:

“First—Of that Union which constitutes us one people, and without which independence and national existence never could have become realities; and,

“Secondly—Of those immutable principles of truth and justice, for the support of which the fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

“The first proposition, then, to which I propose to speak is, that the Union was and is one of the grand foundations upon which our independence and nationality are based.

“What, then, is the nature of the Union? what its origin, and what the causes which brought it into being? Is it a league between sovereign States, independent not only of all the nations of the earth, but independent of each other, or is it a Union of the entire people of one vast country as one undivided nation, all owing allegiance to the same Government, of which they themselves are the architects and builders?

“As a starting point in the consideration of these questions, we have thirteen distinct and separate British Colonies, all founded on charters, proprietary grants or royal governmental commissions, emanating from the British crown and defining the boundaries of these colonies, respectively.

“The colonies, although existing separately under these charters, grants, and commissions, occupied contiguous territory, had a common origin and for the most part the

colonists spoke the same language. Their situation was such that their welfare, if not their very existence, required that there should be some common government for the regulation of their external affairs with the rest of the world, to which all should be alike subject. For many years after the planting of these colonies, they all had this necessary common government for the regulation of their external concerns, under and as a part of the British Kingdom, to whose crown they in the fullest manner acknowledged their allegiance.

“But whilst these colonies all owed and acknowledged their allegiance to the British Crown, each of them had, for a long time, enjoyed the blessings of local self-government in relation to their domestic affairs and internal regulations. They acknowledged themselves as part of the British Empire, to be bound by all treaty stipulations made by it with other nations, and also that they were subject to the legislation of the British Parliament, so far as related to their commercial intercourse with the world, and all other subjects on which a uniformity of legislation was necessary or desirable for all portions of that Empire. They claimed, however, that being British subjects, they were entitled to all the rights of Englishmen, prominent among which was the right of trial by jury, and the right to be exempt from being taxed save with the consent of their immediate representatives. They submitted for many years to the most unjust restrictions upon their trade and commercial intercourse as between themselves as well as between them and the outside world, without questioning the

power of Parliament to impose these restrictions. When, however, Parliament went one step farther and attempted to levy internal taxes in the shape of stamp duties, embracing within their scope nearly all the daily transactions of life, they remonstrated and boldly denied the power of Parliament to impose such burdens. The controversy, which this attempt on the part of Parliament to tax the Colonies without their consent, gave rise to the Continental Congress of 1765, which may be regarded as the germ of the American Union.

“Although each colony had a local Legislature, they were separate and distinct political communities, and had, by their organic structure, no power to unite for any purpose without the consent of the British Government, and as a consequence a union of the people of the colonies for the purpose of resisting the aggressions of the parent Government was one step towards revolution.

“The colonial Legislative Assemblies consisted of three separate and distinct branches, the concurrence of all of which was necessary in the passage of laws. These branches consisted, first, of a Governor chosen directly or indirectly by the dependent upon the Crown. Second, a representative assembly chosen by the people; and third, a Council or Upper House selected by the representatives of the people with the concurrence or subject to the negative of the royal Governor. For many years the Colonial Legislatures had exercised the exclusive and unquestioned right of levying all the internal taxes which were imposed upon the colonists, and of granting or refusing such supplies to the King as to the Legis-

lature might seem proper. With perhaps a single exception, no reasonable complaint could be made against any of the colonies of a want of liberality in responding to the King's requisitions for supplies. The colonists insisted that, being British subjects, they were entitled to all the rights of British citizenship, and that as resident citizens of England could not be taxed except with the consent of their representatives in the House of Commons, and as it was impracticable that the colonies should be represented in Parliament, it followed that the people of the colonies could only be taxed with the consent of their representatives in the Colonial Legislative Assemblies. Parliament, on the other hand, claimed the unlimited power of legislating for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

"Here, then, was an issue between the people of the colonies on the one hand, and the Parliament on the other, which could only be settled by the yielding of one party to the claims of the other, or by the stern arbitrament of the sword.

"The history of the times, and the facts set forth in the Declaration of Independence, show how reluctant the Fathers were to resort to extreme measures for redress of grievances. They say in that instrument that at every stage of the oppressions of which they complained they had petitioned for redress in the most humble manner, but that their petitions had been answered by repeated injury.

"How calm, considerate and dignified was the conduct of the men of the Revolution when compared with the proceedings of those who recently rebelled against the authority of a government in which they were not only fully rep-

resented, but over which they exercised an undue control. In the one case every peaceable measure was exhausted for the redress of real grievances, and resistance was only sanctioned as a last resort. In the other, without any real cause of complaint, war was invoked as a remedy against apprehended evils. Looking at these two examples of resistance to constituted authority in the light of their respective results, who can doubt that God is just, or that He governs in the affairs of men?

“The stamp act received the royal assent on the 22d day of March, 1765, and thereby the power of Parliament to tax the colonies in the absence of representation was attempted to be exercised to the fullest extent and in the most oppressive manner.

“On the 6th day of June, of the same year, in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, James Otis, of Boston, advised ‘the calling of an American Congress, which should come together *without asking the consent of the King*, and should consist of committees from each of the thirteen colonies, to be appointed respectively *by the delegates of the people without regard to the other branches of the legislature.*’

“The suggestion was adopted. Otis and two other members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives were appointed delegates to the proposed Congress, and letters were sent to every legislative assembly on the Continent, ‘proposing that committees of the several assemblies should meet at New York on the first Tuesday of the following October, to consult together and consider of a united representation to implore relief.’

“In pursuance of similar action on the part of other colonies, the first Continental Congress met in the city of New York, on the 7th day of October, 1765. It consisted of delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware, New Jersey and New York. New Hampshire, although unrepresented by delegates, had pledged her people in advance to abide by the result, and Georgia evinced her interest in the matter by sending a messenger a thousand miles by land to obtain a copy of the proceedings.

“Virginia and North Carolina were not in any way represented in this first American Congress, although they were both in full sympathy with the people of the other colonies.

“As bearing on the formation and nature of the American Union, it is interesting and important to note the manner in which this first Congress was constituted. Did it represent the local colonial governments of the respective colonies, or did it represent the people? To answer this question, it is only necessary to state the manner in which the delegates were appointed. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina, the governor and Council, both constituent parts of the legislative power, were entirely ignored, and the appointments were made by the House of Representatives.

“In Delaware and New Jersey the popular branch of the Legislature did not even act in its organized capacity, but the delegates from those colonies were named by letters of appointment, signed by the individual members of the Houses of Representatives of these colonies respectively;

and in New York the Legislative Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the popular branch of the Legislature of that colony, constituted its delegates to the Congress.

“Here, then, we see that in the first Continental Congress the delegates did not represent the local governments of their respective colonies, but that they did represent the people of the colonies from which they were sent. That they were appointed not by the local governments, but by the popular branches of the Colonial Assemblies, as the immediate and most convenient organs of the popular will.

“The Congress thus assembled entered immediately on the consideration of the grounds on which they would base their efforts to vindicate American liberty and American rights. Whether they should build on the rights secured by their respective charters or on natural justice became the question. Some were for relying on their charters and pleading the rights thus secured, but Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, saw that this was basing American liberty on too narrow a foundation and would result in division and destruction, as their charters differed and some of the colonies had no charters from the Crown at all.

“‘We should stand,’ said this sturdy patriot, ‘upon the broad, common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men, and as the descendants of Englishmen—I wish the charters may not ensnare us at last by drawing different colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever this is the case, all will be over with the whole. There should be no New England man, no New Yorker on the continent, but all of us Americans.’

“These views,” said Bancroft, “prevailed, and in the proceedings of the Congress the argument for American liberty from royal grants was avoided. This is the first great step towards independence. Dummer has pleaded for colony charters; Livingston, Gadsden, and the Congress of 1765 provided for American self-existence and Union by claiming rights that preceded charters, and would survive their ruin.”

“It is worthy of remark that the question between chartered rights and natural justice has repeated itself in our subsequent history. Those in after years who have been the peculiar advocates of State sovereignty are the legitimate descendants of the men who, in our controversy with Great Britain, were willing to base American liberty on no firmer foundation than the words of a King contained in a royal charter, a royal proprietary grant, or a royal governor’s commission; while those who have manfully insisted on the paramount sovereignty of the entire American people, have with Gadsden and the Continental Congress of 1765 always maintained that human rights are older and more sacred than mere chartered rights, and that charters and constitutions are only valuable as they tend to secure natural rights and promote human happiness.

“The Stamp Act, the passage of which gave birth to the Congress of 1765, having been repealed in 1766, that Congress never re-assembled and had no successor until 1774. In the meantime the controversy went on between the British government and the colonies, as to the powers of the former over the latter. The form of the exactions was changed, but the substance was insisted upon with increased

pertinacity. Port duties on the necessities of life were substituted for stamp taxes, and the legality of their assessment was denied and their collection resisted with the same sturdy determination that had been previously put forth in relation to the Stamp Act.

“Again, Union became the watchword of the people, and ‘Join or Die’ rang out as the motto of these real Sons of Liberty.

“As early as July, 1773, Dr. Franklin advised the assembling of a general Congress of all the colonies, giving as a reason for this advice that ‘the strength of an empire depends not only on the union of its parts, but on their readiness for a united exertion of their common force.’

“Virginia, although unrepresented in the Continental Congress of 1765, was the first to move in the call of that of 1774. The House of Burgesses of Virginia met in May, 1774, and soon after the meeting news was received that the port of Boston was to be closed by an act of Parliament on the first day of June following. They forthwith passed an order designating that day as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights and the evils of civil war, and to give them ‘one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights.’

“This action, as might have been and doubtless was expected, brought down upon them the displeasure of the royal Governor, who immediately dissolved the House. But the members immediately re-assembled in another place, and declared that all the colonies had a joint interest in the late

proceeding of Parliament, and advised the calling of a general Continental Congress. In accordance with this recommendation a convention of the people of Virginia was held, by which seven persons were appointed to represent the people of that colony in a General Congress to be held at Philadelphia in the following September.

“Massachusetts promptly seconded the motion of Virginia for a Congress, and other colonies soon followed their example by appointing delegates. Here again the delegates were the representatives of the people, and not the representatives of the local colonial governments. They were appointed either by conventions of the people or by the popular branches of the Legislatures acting for the people.

“These delegates met at Philadelphia in Congress on the 5th day of September, 1774, and designated themselves in their proceedings as ‘The Delegates appointed by the good people of the colonies.’ All the colonies were represented in this Congress except Georgia.

“Being without a written constitution or compact of union, and not yet seriously contemplating independence, the Congress of 1774, in imitation of that of 1765, resolved that each colony should have one vote, but to prevent this from being drawn into precedent they declared as a reason for this action that they could not procure reliable data for determining the importance of each colony.

“This Congress, after declaring the rights of the people of the colonies and setting forth the grievances of which they complained, prepared an agreement of non-intercourse with the mother country, which was signed by all the members and recommended to the people for their adoption until

their grievances should be fully redressed. They adjourned on the 26th day of October, having first recommended that another Congress of all the colonies should be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May, 1775, unless their grievances should be before that time redressed, and that delegates to the new Congress should be appointed without delay.

"In the meantime, the Colonial Government of Massachusetts was revolutionized. Parliament had attempted to subvert their charter by changing the mode of selecting the Council, so as to insure the subserviency of that branch of the Legislature to the Crown and Parliament. Popular indignation was so aroused by this fresh act of aggression that the new Councillors were compelled to resign. Writs of election had been issued for a new House of Representatives, but the royal Governor, in consequence of the compulsory resignation of the Councillors, countermanded by proclamation the writs of election.

"The people, in disregard of the Governor's proclamation held their elections, and the members-elect met pursuant to the precepts. There being no council, and the Governor failing to recognize the members elected to the House of Representatives, of course they had no power under the Charter to legislate. The members of the House adjourned from Salem to Cambridge, and resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and the people of the colony sanctioned this proceeding by generally yielding obedience to their authority.

On the 19th of April, 1775, the battle of Lexington was fought, and on the 10th of the succeeding month the Con-

tinental Congress met in Philadelphia. The delegates had been chosen partly by conventions of the people, and partly by the popular branch of such of the Colonial Legislatures as were then in session; but these latter appointments were all subsequently ratified by conventions of the people.

"At the opening of the session all the colonies were represented except Georgia and Rhode Island, and five days afterwards the delegates of the latter appeared, leaving Georgia alone unrepresented. Congress continued in session until the first day of August, when they took a recess to the 5th day of September. Soon after their re-assembling, all the colonies, including Georgia, were represented. Civil war had actually commenced, and Congress at once became the organ of the united resistance of the colonies to the mother country. It at once assumed the control of the legislation of the continent, and instead of considering itself the agent of the local colonial governments it acted as the representative of the majesty of a united people, and advised the colonies what they should do in the matter of reconstructing their local governments, put the country in a state of defense, and assumed control of the military operations of the colonies. It devised ways and means for conducting the war, organized a continental or national army by adopting the army raised by the New England Provinces, and then, under the command of General Ward, and by directing troops to be raised by Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to join the army near Boston, which was designated by Congress as the American Continental Army; and was ordered to be paid out of the Continental treasury. On the 15th day of June, 1775, George Washington, one of the

delegates from Virginia, was unanimously chosen by Congress to be the Commander-in-chief of the Continental forces. In Washington's commission, the style of '*the United Colonies*' was for the first time adopted, and the defense of *American* liberties was assumed as the great object of the Union. In a letter of instructions which accompanied this commission, the General was enjoined by Congress to make it his special care that the liberties of *America* received no detriment.

"Here, then, we have a national Congress, a national Army, a national Treasury and a national Union, without a single State in the Union. What, then, becomes of the oft-repeated assumption that the States made the Union, and can therefore unmake it at pleasure by withdrawing therefrom?

"The Continental Congress, finding that their cherished idea of a reconciliation with the mother country on the basis of justice and freedom was a delusive hope, on the Fourth day of July, 1776, adopted the Declaration of Independence, the colonies voting unanimously therefor, and sent it forth to the world.

"What evidence does this instrument contain as to the pre-existence of the Union and its nature? Let it speak for itself, and judge ye whether its utterances are doubtful either as to the existence of the Union, or the authority upon which Congress acted in making the Declaration.

"Its first sentence reads as follows:

"'When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for ONE PEOPLE to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among

the powers of the earth *the separate and equal station* to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.'

"*One People!* What stronger or more emphatic expression could have been employed to indicate the oneness of our beloved country? The clause just quoted from the Declaration shows that prior to and on the morning of the 4th day of July, 1776, there were political bonds connecting the *One People* of the thirteen colonies with another people, even the people of Great Britain; that this connection prevented this 'One People' from exercising among the Powers of the earth that sovereignty to which they were entitled, but which they had never possessed; and for the purpose of dissolving this connection and enabling this *One People* to assume among the Powers of the earth *the separate and equal station* which was rightfully theirs, is the declared object of this immortal instrument. Our fathers, in declaring their independence, did not usher into the world thirteen independent sovereign nations or States; but they did introduce into the family of nations one people, one nation, composed of the united people of thirteen colonies, bound together in the same bundle of the Union, and they claimed for this 'One People,' one, and only one, separate and equal place among the Powers of the earth. Let us thank the Ruler of the Universe that His Providence made good the declaration of 1776, and through that same Providence directing the minds, nerving the arms and encouraging the hearts of the patriotic, brave and good men

of our own generation, we are to-day, after the lapse of nearly a century, still one people, occupying one, and only one, separate and equal station among the Powers of the world.

“But the evidence contained in the declaration in favor of our national unity and the paramount sovereignty of the people of the entire Union does not stop here. Let me quote in your hearing a portion of its concluding sentence. It reads thus:

“We therefore, the representatives of the *United States of America* in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, *do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies* solemnly publish and declare that these *United Colonies* are, and of right, ought to be free and independent States.”

“Here is the title deed of our nationality made in the name and by the authority of the good people of the United Colonies, acting through their chosen representatives in the general Congress. Does any one of the original thirteen States claim to be sovereign and independent? If so, she is estopped from dating her sovereignty and independence prior to the Fourth day of July, 1776, for in the declaration she acknowledges her previous colonial condition and her want of equality of station among the powers of the earth. Each of the States was born independent *in* the Union, but not independent of the Union. And the State that would destroy the Union would become the murderer of the mother who bore her.

“Are we told that the articles of confederation which preceded the Constitution of the United States was a compact by its terms between independent sovereign States? This must be granted, but with the admission should go the fact that these articles of confederation never were ratified and never became effectual until the War of the Revolution had nearly been concluded. The ratification took place and Congress first met under them in 1781 and peace came in 1783. The Union was a verity for six years and more prior to the ratification of these articles, and they, being a departure from the grand principle of national unity, announced in the Declaration of Independence, were soon given up for the Constitution of the United States, which again spoke the national will by the authority, not of the States, but of one united people.

“One other historical incident bearing upon the same point, and I conclude this branch of the subject.

“When the Commissioners of France, Great Britain and the United States met in Paris, in August, 1782, to conclude a treaty of peace, the British Commissioner produced a commission in the language of a then recent act of Parliament, by which the King was authorized to conclude a peace with certain colonies therein named, the thirteen colonies being named separately in the act. Mr. Jay, one of the American Commissioners, objected to the sufficiency of this authority, and refused to proceed with the negotiations until the British Commissioner returned and procured instructions authorizing him to treat with ‘the Commissioners of the United States of America,’ and the treaty was then

made between France, Great Britain, and the United States; the Commissioners of each representing one sovereign and independent power.

“This historical review clearly shows that Mr. Lincoln was right when he declared in his first message to Congress that ‘the States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase the Union gave each of them whatever of independence or liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union.’

“So spoke the ‘good President’ to his countrymen, and, though being dead, so he still speaks. May the people ever heed his words, and remember that the Union has been the source of all our political blessings in the past, and is the foundation of all our hopes for the future!

“The Declaration of Independence, as we have seen, assumed the previous existence of the Union, and declared the national independence. It did more, it proclaimed the inalienable rights of men, and these rights thus proclaimed, constitute another of the broad, deep foundations of American institutions and introduces the second topic proposed for your consideration.

' "In the light of the grand historic transactions of the last six years which have so gloriously vindicated our national unity, may we not to-day repeat with a new emphasis the words of our fathers that 'We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

"This sublime utterance was, as I have said, one of the broad, deep foundations upon which the fathers of the Republic built the infant nation, and though they and we as to a portion of our people for a time practically ignored the truths thus uttered, under the alternate smiles and chastenings of the Supreme Judge of the world, to whom they appealed for the rectitude of their intentions, we have grown and prospered until the Grand Republic has become the beacon light as well as the marvel of the world.

"Although the Constitution of the United States corrected the error which had been committed in the Articles of Confederation, as to the nature of our Union, and the relation of the several parts to each other, and to the whole, and so far restored us to the principles of the Declaration of Independence it recognized, while ashamed to pronounce or record the name of that monster iniquity, chattel and hereditary slavery. Thus we presented to the world the spectacle of a great republic built on the foundation of a perfect equality of rights among men, and yet practically denying to a portion of its people the enjoyment of all their rights. Slavery so blinded the minds and hardened the hearts of the nation that the national government, in all its

departments, executive, legislative, and judicial, bowed down at the shrine of the monster. It claimed protection under the flag of freedom wherever it floated, and denounced as traitors and infidels all who denied its pretensions. At last, under the pretence of vindicating the Constitution, it attempted to overthrow the Republic, and build upon its ruins a political monstrosity, called a confederacy, of which human bondage instead of the inalienable rights of man was to be the chief corner-stone. Although the national conscience was so debauched as to be no longer able to perceive the horrors of slavery, a vast majority of the people still loved the Union of their fathers, and God in His goodness made this love our school-master to bring us back to the love of liberty, not as a mere sentiment, but as a living, energizing universal principle. By showing the nation that either the Union or slavery must die, he educated us up to the point that sanctioned the issuing of the proclamation that rang out freedom to the land and to all the inhabitants thereof; and the people said Amen; and the Grand Army of the Republic said Amen; and slavery died amidst its worshipers, the Union was saved, and a regenerated Republic shouted Amen.

“However difficult it may be under certain complications to apply in practice the great doctrine of equal rights among men, is it not wonderful, notwithstanding all the lessons of experience, that man, whose breath is in his nostrils, should even in our own day arrogate to himself the possession of rights which he denies to his fellow-man. And how contemptible and cowardly does this claim of superior rights

become when it is based upon the assumption, true or false, that it exists because the man who makes the claim is superior to him as against whom it is made.

“If one man or one race of men is weaker than, or inferior to another, is it not an imputation upon the wisdom and justice of the God of nature to assert that the weaker man or weaker race is endowed by nature with inferior rights; that the Supreme Ruler of the universe so legislates as not to protect the weak against the strong, but the strong against the weak. That He is the God of the proud, the arrogant, and the powerful, but not the God of the weak and the lowly. That he is a respecter of persons, but not a respecter of righteousness. Surely such doctrines find no sanction in the Declaration of Independence, or in the teachings of Him who enjoined that ‘all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets.’

“If one man or race of men claims superior rights and greater protection from society and government in the battle of life, because of his or its supposed superiority to another man or another race, prudence would seem to dictate that the claimant should take out a policy against the accident of his being mistaken in the assumption.

“Fortunately, companies now exist that are willing to insure against accidents of all kinds.

“If the assumed superiority does exist, so much the greater is the reason that the inferior and the weaker should enjoy the protection of equal rights and equal laws. If it does not exist, the claim is based on a falsehood, and must therefore fall.

“The Declaration of Independence does not proclaim the absurd doctrine that all men of the same race are created equal, and that as among themselves they are entitled to certain inalienable rights, but that as to other races they are not equal, and do not possess, or may be despoiled of their rights. Again, if a superior race may deny to an inferior race the enjoyment of equal and impartial rights, why may not a superior man deny to an inferior man of the same race the same thing? I defy mortal man to show why the logic that proves the one proposition will not prove the other. The result of such logic would be that the most superior man in the nation must govern all the rest, and to be consistent we would all have to bow to some shrewd fellow like Louis Napoleon, and say, ‘We await your superior pleasure; your will is the law; you are the Government by divine right of superiority.’

“This is not the time nor the place to discuss mere partisan questions, but on a day consecrated to liberty, and in the presence of so many of its noble and gallant defenders, may we not with entire propriety consider the rights of humanity and the practical application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to the duties of life?

“Believing such considerations to be appropriate to the occasion, I have no hesitancy in saying that the suppression of the rebellion and the consequences which have already flown and which are still to flow therefrom must, at no distant day, place the Nation on the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, and consequently assure to all classes of our citizens of every race, equal and impartial civil and political rights thenceforth and forever.

“In my judgment, the sooner this consummation is reached the better will it be for the country, and the sooner will the Republic be prepared for that high mission among the nations of the earth which we all believe God in His providence designs it to accomplish.

“When and by what particular instrumentalities this result is to be attained may not now be certainly determined, but I must be permitted to express the opinion that as to those States which have always been true and loyal to the Union, and none of whose rights have ever been forfeited by treason or rebellion, the question must be left to the voluntary action of the people of the States respectively, and that these loyal States should freely, and without unnecessary delay, concede that which justice and sound policy unite in demanding.

“By such a course the General Government will assume no questionable powers: our traditional policy as to the proper sphere of State and Federal action will be preserved: a just confidence will be manifested by the national authorities in those States whose people have never heretofore faltered in the hour of trial, and a broad line of demarkation will be drawn between that confidence which uninterrupted loyalty deserves, and that distrust which past rebellion justly inspires.

“That justice will be done, and impartial rights accorded, and that, too, at no distant day, by all the loyal States, should not be doubted, and if, in the end, it shall be found that one or two semi-loyal States have bound themselves to the dead past, and are determined not to profit by the lessons of experience, with all the other States firmly planted

on the immutable principles of right and justice, and with all the power of the General Government on the side of freedom and equal rights, how easy will it not be to bring up these reluctant States to the common level by an amendment of the Constitution, without a resort to the exercise of doubtful Congressional powers.

“Gentlemen of the Grand Army of the Republic, allow me, on behalf of myself and the Trustees of the Soldiers’ Home, to thank you for your presence and for your participation in the laying of the corner-stone of this Home for your disabled comrades. You have illustrated your devotion to the Union, and to the great principles upon which our institutions are based, on many a well-contested field, and your State and your country recognize you as the worthy descendants of the noble men who declared and achieved our independence.

“To perpetuate friendships formed on the march, on the battlefield, and around your camp-fires during the war; to keep the fires of liberty ever bright and burning on the altar of your hearts, and to minister to the wants of your brother-soldiers when trouble or distress overtake them, you have associated yourselves together under the name of the Grand Army of the Republic. We bid your brotherhood Godspeed, and trust that the blessing of the Father of all, and the benedictions of a grateful people may attend each of you through life.

“And to you, the honored inmates of this Home, I desire to say that, however much we may regret that the provision made for its establishment and your comfort, is not as ample

as could have been desired, still you may rest assured that the people of Indiana in grateful recognition of your services, toils and sufferings, will in due time supply all that may be lacking to make this institution a Home for those who gave for their country all that man can give, life only excepted. That you may lead peaceful and happy lives in this institution, and at last through the mediation of the Son, be admitted to the Father's House in which there are many mansions, is not only the prayer of myself, but the prayer of all present."



## APPENDIX V.

### NOTE.

It may be interesting to show the decay of the Order from 1870. According to Beath's History of the Grand Army of the Republic, 21 Departments and 186 representatives composed the 2d National Encampment held at Philadelphia, January 15th, 1868.

At the 3d National Encampment, held at Cincinnati, May 12th, 1869, were 23 Departments and 79 representatives and officers.

At the 4th National Encampment, held at Washington, May 11th, 1870, were 19 Departments and 52 representatives and officers.

At the 5th National Encampment, held at Boston, May 10th, 1871, were 17 Departments and 68 representatives and officers.

At the 6th National Encampment, held at Cleveland, May 8th, 1872, were 16 Departments and 75 representatives and officers.

At the 7th National Encampment, held at New Haven, May 14th, 1873, were 16 Departments and 48 representatives and officers.

At the 8th National Encampment, held at Harrisburg, May 13th, 1874, were 15 Departments and 51 representatives and officers.

At the 9th National Encampment, held at Chicago, May 12th, 1875, were 14 Departments and 78 representatives and officers.

At the 10th National Encampment, held at Philadelphia, June 30th, 1876, were 22 Departments and 100 Department officers and representatives.

At the 11th National Encampment, held at Providence, June 26th, 1877, were 12 Departments and 96 officers and representatives.

At the 12th National Encampment, held at Springfield, Mass., June 4th, 1878, were 14 Departments and 85 representatives.

At the 13th National Encampment, held at Albany, N. Y., June 17th, 1879, were 19 Departments and 114 officers and representatives.

At the 14th National Encampment, held at Dayton, June 8th, 1880, were 19 Departments and 114 representatives and officers.

From this time forward the Order began to revive, but without reaching any great maximum, keeping pretty nearly balanced, year by year, in membership.

“Previous to the adoption of the grades, it had been claimed 250,000 members were enrolled. Less than 25,000 remained when the system was abolished. . . . Of those who remained there was a large number who deemed the radical changes a grave error of judgment.” (Beath’s History.) I am glad to find that my convictions and prophecies upon the introduction of the degrees and the consequent disruption of the Order affirmed by my friend and comrade, General Beath.

If the roll of that membership, previous to the introduction of the degrees, and the abolishment of the first Ritual, [thus absolving every member from its obligation], could have been called on the 5th day of January, 1870, many would be missing; and if called ten years later, fewer still would be found to answer. If called to-day, a voice here and there would be heard—only an echo of the past. But few of the men who were in the Order in 1866-70 are in the Order to-day.









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